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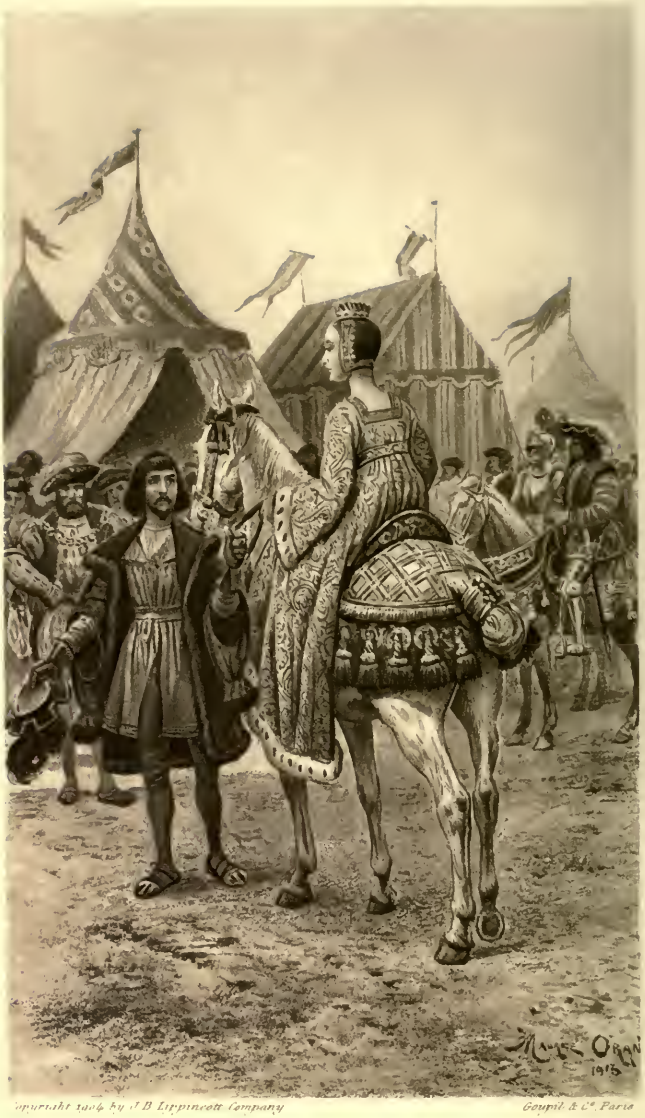

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Montezuma Edition

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

Ferdinand and Isabella

THE CATHOLIC

BY

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

EDITED BY

WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

AND COMPRISING THE NOTES OF THE EDITION BY
JOHN FOSTER KIRK

Conjugio tali! Quæ surgere regna
Virgil, Æneid, iv. 47

Crevere viris, armisque et imperi
Porrecta majestas ab Euro
Solis ad Occiduum cubile.
Horat. Carm. iv. 15

VOL. II

PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

ARRIVAL OF ISABELLA AT THE CAMP BEFORE MALAGA

Page 170

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PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
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PART I

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1406–1492

THE PERIOD WHEN THE DIFFERENT KINGDOMS OF SPAIN WERE FIRST UNITED UNDER ONE MONARCHY, AND A THOROUGH REFORM WAS INTRODUCED INTO THEIR INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION; OR THE PERIOD EXHIBITING MOST FULLY THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

CHAPTER VIII

REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS OF THE SPANISH ARABS PREVIOUS TO THE WAR OF GRANADA

Conquest of Spain by the Arabs—Cordovan Empire—High Civilization and Prosperity—Its Dismemberment—Kingdom of Granada—Luxurious and Chivalrous Character—Literature of the Spanish Arabs—Progress in Science—Historical Merits—Useful Discoveries—Poetry and Romance—Influence on the Spaniards

WE have now arrived at the commencement of the famous war of Granada, which terminated in the subversion of the Arabian empire in Spain, after it had subsisted for nearly eight centuries, and with the consequent restoration to the Castilian crown of the fairest portion of its ancient domain. In order to a better understanding of the character of the Spanish Arabs, or Moors, who exercised an important influence on that of their Christian neighbors, the present chapter will be devoted to a consideration of their previous history in the Peninsula, where they probably reached a higher degree of civilization than in any other part of the world.[1]

[1] See Introduction, Section 1, Note 2, of this History.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the causes of the brilliant successes of Mahometanism at its outset,—the dexterity with which, unlike all other religions, it was raised upon, not against, the principles and prejudices of preceding sects; the military spirit and discipline which it established among all classes, so that the multifarious nations who embraced it assumed the appearance of one vast, well-ordered camp;[2] the union of ecclesiastical with civil authority intrusted to the caliphs, which enabled them to control opinions as absolutely as the Roman pontiffs in their most despotic hour;[3] or, lastly, the peculiar adaptation of the

[2] The Koran, in addition to the repeated assurances of Paradise to the martyr who falls in battle, contains the regulations of a precise military code. Military service in some shape or other is exacted from all. The terms to be prescribed to the enemy and the vanquished, the division of the spoil, the seasons of lawful truce, the conditions on which the comparatively small number of exempts are permitted to remain at home, are accurately defined. (Sale's Koran, chap. 2, 8, 9, et alibi.) When the *algihed*, or Mahometan crusade, which, in its general design and immunities, bore a close resemblance to the Christian, was preached in the mosque, every true believer was bound to repair to the standard of his chief. "The holy war," says one of the early Saracen generals, "is the ladder of Paradise. The Apostle of God styled himself the son of the sword. He loved to repose in the shadow of banners and on the field of battle."

[3] The successors, caliphs or vicars, as they were styled, of Mahomet, represented both his spiritual and temporal authority. Their office involved almost equally ecclesiastical and military functions. It was their duty to lead the army in battle, and on the pilgrimage to Mecca. They were to preach a sermon and offer up public prayers in the mosques every Friday. Many of their prerogatives resemble those assumed anciently by the popes. They conferred investitures on the Moslem princes by the symbol of a ring, a sword, or a standard. They complimented them with the titles of "defender of the faith," "column of religion," and the like. The proudest potentate held the bridle of their mules, and paid his homage by touching their threshold with his forehead. The authority of the caliphs was in this manner founded on opinion

doctrines of Mahomet to the character of the wild tribes among whom they were preached.[4] It is sufficient to say that these latter, within a century after the coming of their apostle, having succeeded in establishing their religion over vast regions in Asia, and on the northern shores of Africa, arrived before the Straits of Gibraltar, which, though a temporary, were destined to prove an ineffectual bulwark for Christendom.

The causes which have been currently assigned for the invasion and conquest of Spain, even by the most credible modern historians, have scarcely any foundation in contemporary records. The true causes are to be found in the rich spoils offered by the Gothic monarchy, and in the thirst of enterprise in the Saracens, which their long-uninterrupted career of victory seems to have sharpened, rather than satisfied.[5] The fatal battle

no less than on power; and their ordinances, however frivolous or iniquitous in themselves, being enforced, as it were, by a divine sanction, became laws which it was sacrilege to disobey. See D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale (La Haye, 1777–9), voce *Khalifah.*

[4] The character of the Arabs, before the introduction of Islam, like that of most rude nations, is to be gathered from their national songs and romances. The poems suspended at Mecca, familiar to us in the elegant version of Sir William Jones, and, still more, the recent translation of "Antar,"—a composition indeed of the age of Al Raschid, but wholly devoted to the primitive Bedouins,—present us with a lively picture of their peculiar habits, which, notwithstanding the influence of a temporary civilization, may be thought to bear great resemblance to those of their descendants at the present day.

[5] Startling as it may be, there is scarcely a vestige of any of the particulars circumstantially narrated by the national historians (Mariana, Zurita, Abarca, Moret, etc.) as the immediate causes of the subversion of Spain, to be found in the chronicles of the period. No intimation of the persecution, or of the treason, of the two sons of Witiza is to be met with in any Spanish writer, as far as

which terminated with the slaughter of King Roderic and the flower of his nobility was fought in the summer of 711, on a plain washed by the Guadalete near Xerez, about two leagues distant from Cadiz.[6] The Goths appear never afterwards

I know, until nearly two centuries after the conquest; none earlier than this, of the defection of archbishop Oppas during the fatal conflict near Xerez; and none, of the tragical amours of Roderic and the revenge of Count Julian, before the writers of the thirteenth century. Nothing, indeed, can be more jejune than the original narratives of the invasion. The continuation of the Chronicon del Biclarense, and the Chronicon de Isidoro Pacense or de Beja, which are contained in the voluminous collection of Florez (España sagrada, tom. vi. and viii.), afford the only histories contemporary with the event. Conde is mistaken in his assertion (Dominacion de los Arabes, Pról. p. vii.) that the work of Isidore de Beja was the only narrative written during that period. Spain had not the pen of a Bede or an Eginhart to describe the memorable catastrophe. But the few and meagre touches of the contemporary chroniclers have left ample scope for conjectural history, which has been most industriously improved. The reports, according to Conde (Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. p. 36), greedily circulated among the Saracens, of the magnificence and general prosperity of the Gothic monarchy, may sufficiently account for its invasion by an enemy flushed with uninterrupted conquests, and whose fanatical ambition was well illustrated by one of their own generals, who, on reaching the western extremity of Africa, plunged his horse into the Atlantic, and sighed for other shores on which to plant the banners of Islam. See Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes (Paris, 1765) tom. i. p. 37.

[6] The laborious diligence of Masdeu may be thought to have settled the epoch, about which so much learned dust has been raised. The fourteenth volume of his "Historia crítica de España y de la Cultura Española" (Madrid, 1783–1805) contains an accurate table, by which the minutest dates of the Mahometan lunar year are adjusted by those of the Christian era. The fall of Roderic on the field of battle is attested by both the domestic chroniclers of that period, as well as by the Saracens. (Incerti Auctoris Additio ad Joannem Biclarensem, apud Florez, España sagrada, tom. vi. p. 430.—Isidori Pacensis Episcopi Chronicon, apud Florez, España sagrada, tom. viii. p. 200.) The tales of the ivory and marble chariot, of the gallant steed Orelia and magnificent vestments of Roderic, discovered after the fight on the banks of the Guadalete, of his probable escape and subsequent seclusion among the moun-

to have rallied under one head, but their broken detachments made many a gallant stand in such strong positions as were afforded throughout the kingdom; so that nearly three years elapsed before the final achievement of the conquest. The policy of the conquerors, after making the requisite allowance for the evils necessarily attending such an invasion,[7] may be considered liberal. Such of the Christians as chose were permitted to remain in the conquered territory in undisputed possession of their property.* They were allowed to

tains of Portugal, which have been thought worthy of Spanish history, have found a much more appropriate place in the romantic national ballads, as well as in the more elaborate productions of Scott and Southey.

[7] "Whatever curses," says an eye-witness, whose meagre diction is quickened on this occasion into something like sublimity,—"whatever curses were denounced by the prophets of old against Jerusalem, whatever fell upon ancient Babylon, whatever miseries Rome inflicted upon the glorious company of the martyrs, all these were visited upon the once happy and prosperous, but now desolated, Spain." Pacensis Chronicon, apud Florez, España sagrada, tom. viii. p. 292.

* [Rarely had the world seen more perfect religious toleration than that which prevailed in Mahometan Spain. Nowhere else in Europe did the Jews enjoy so much liberty. Not only were the Christians allowed to celebrate Mass as freely as before the conquest, but in some instances Moslem and Christian made use of the same edifice. This was the case in Cordova. (For a description of the city of Cordova, see Guyangos, Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, book iii.) When the Moors captured that city they found there a Christian basilica, the church of St. Vincent. The conquerors arranged with the conquered for its joint occupancy, and this arrangement subsisted for seventy years. Then when Abderrahman wished to begin the erection of the great mosque which still adorns the spot, he *bought* from the Christians their right to use the ancient structure. The poll-tax was indeed a tax upon heresy. It was levied upon Jew and Christian alike, and from it the Moslem was exempted; but it brought in so much revenue that the Moors were by no means displeased at the spread of heresy. The slaves fared much better under the new than under their old masters. It was easy for a slave to secure his freedom. It was only

worship in their own way; to be governed, within prescribed limits, by their own laws; to fill certain civil offices, and serve in the army; their women were invited to intermarry with the conquerors;[8] and, in short, they were condemned to no other legal badge of servitude than the payment of somewhat heavier imposts than those exacted from their Mahometan brethren. It is true the Christians were occasionally exposed to suffering from the caprices of despotism, and, it may be added, of popular fanaticism.[9] But, on the whole, their con-

[8] The frequency of this alliance may be inferred from an extraordinary, though doubtless extravagant, statement cited by Zurita. The ambassadors of James II. of Aragon, in 1311, represented to the sovereign pontiff, Clement V., that of the 200,000 souls which then composed the population of Granada there were not more than 500 of pure Moorish descent. Anales, tom. iv. fol. 314.

[9] The famous persecutions of Cordova under the reigns of Abderrahman II. and his son, which, to judge from the tone of Castilian writers, might vie with those of Nero and Diocletian, are admitted by Morales (Obras, tom. x. p. 74) to have occasioned the destruction of only forty individuals. Most of these unhappy fanatics solicited the crown of martyrdom by an open violation of the Mahometan laws and usages. The details are given by Florez in the tenth volume of his collection.*

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necessary for him to profess publicly the faith of the prophet. The conquest of the Moors benefited Spain in many ways. It did away with the *latifundia,* the broad lands that were mostly held by the Church, and converted them into small farms which received more careful cultivation. It made "small farmers" of the emancipated slaves. It enforced a better system of taxation. It brought about better sanitary conditions. The Moor was cleanly. He loved his bath in an age when a peculiar sanctity enveloped the unwashed Christian. Nothing more clearly marked the distinction between Moor and Christian in that period than the use of water.—M.]

* [These Christian fanatics seem to have been insane. Lane Poole well says, "The Suicides of Andalusia were really no whit more reasonable or more truly religious than the sufferings of the priests of Baal who cut themselves with knives, or of the Indian Ascetics

dition may sustain an advantageous comparison with that of any Christian people under the Mussulman dominion of later times, and affords a striking contrast with that of our Saxon ancestors after the Norman conquest, which suggests an obvious parallel in many of its circumstances to the Saracen.[10]

After the further progress of the Arabs in Europe had been checked by the memorable defeat at Tours, their energies, no longer allowed to expand in the career of conquest, recoiled on themselves, and speedily produced the dismemberment of their overgrown empire. Spain was the first of the provinces which fell off. The family of Omeya, under whom this revolution was effected, continued to occupy her throne as independent princes from the middle of the eighth to the close of the eleventh century, a period which forms the most honorable portion of her Arabian annals.

[10] Bleda, Corónica de los Moros de España (Valencia, 1618), lib. 2, cap. 16, 17.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. pp. 83 et seq., 179.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, Pról. p. vii. and tom. i. pp. 29–54, 75, 87.—Morales, Obras, tom. vi. pp. 407–417; tom. vii. pp. 262–264.—Florez, España sagrada, tom. x. pp. 237–270.—Fuero Juzgo, Int. p. 40.

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who let their nails grow through their flesh." The Moors were not ignorant of Christ. They never mentioned His name without adding "May Allah bless Him." He was to them a great teacher, inferior to Mohammed simply because His inspiration came before the days of the Arabian prophet. The Christians secured martyrdom only when they courted it by blaspheming the Prophet. They knew that such blasphemy must be followed by death, according to the Mohammedan laws. The Moorish magistrates did all in their power to save the madmen from the fate they longed for. Moreover, the great body of Christians did not sympathize with the fanatics. When Eulogius, their leading spirit, was executed, the movement appears to have ceased.—M.]

The new government was modelled on the Eastern caliphate. Freedom shows itself under a variety of forms; while despotism, at least in the institutions founded on the Koran, seems to wear but one. The sovereign was the depositary of all power, the fountain of honor, the sole arbiter of life and fortune. He styled himself "Commander of the Faithful," and, like the caliphs of the East, assumed an entire spiritual as well as temporal supremacy. The country was distributed into six *capitanías,* or provinces, each under the administration of a *wali,* or governor, with subordinate officers, to whom was intrusted a more immediate jurisdiction over the principal cities. The immense authority and pretensions of these petty satraps became a fruitful source of rebellion in later times. The caliph administered the government with the advice of his *mexuar,* or council of state, composed of his principal *cadis* and *hagibs,* or secretaries. The office of prime minister, or chief hagib, corresponded, in the nature and variety of its functions, with that of a Turkish grand vizier. The caliph reserved to himself the right of selecting his successor from among his numerous progeny; and this adoption was immediately ratified by an oath of allegiance to the heir apparent from the principal officers of state.[11]

The princes of the blood, instead of being condemned, as in Turkey, to waste their youth in the seclusion of the harem, were intrusted to the care of learned men, to be instructed in the duties

[11] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, part. 2, cap. 1–46.

befitting their station. They were encouraged to visit the academies, which were particularly celebrated in Cordova, where they mingled in disputation, and frequently carried away the prizes of poetry and eloquence. Their riper years exhibited such fruits as were to be expected from their early education. The race of the Omeyades need not shrink from a comparison with any other dynasty of equal length in modern Europe. Many of them amused their leisure with poetical composition, of which numerous examples are preserved in Conde's History; and some left elaborate works of learning, which have maintained a permanent reputation with Arabian scholars. Their long reigns, the first ten of which embrace a period of two centuries and a half, their peaceful deaths, and unbroken line of succession in the same family for so many years, show that their authority must have been founded in the affections of their subjects. Indeed, they seem, with one or two exceptions, to have ruled over them with a truly patriarchal sway; and, on the event of their deaths, the people, bathed in tears, are described as accompanying their relics to the tomb, where the ceremony was concluded with a public eulogy on the virtues of the deceased, by his son and successor.[12] This pleasing moral picture affords a strong contrast to the sanguinary scenes which so often attend the transmission of the sceptre from one

[12] Diodorus Siculus, noticing a similar usage at the funerals of the Egyptian kings, remarks on the disinterested and honest nature of the homage, when the object of it is beyond the reach of flattery.—Diod., i. 70 et seq.

generation to another among the nations of the East.[13]

The Spanish caliphs supported a large military force, frequently keeping two or three armies in the field at the same time. The flower of these forces was a body-guard, gradually raised to twelve thousand men, one-third of them Christians, superbly equipped, and officered by members of the royal family. Their feuds with the Eastern caliphs and the Barbary pirates required them also to maintain a respectable navy, which was fitted out from the numerous dock-yards that lined the coast from Cadiz to Tarragona.

The munificence of the Omeyades was most ostentatiously displayed in their public edifices, palaces, mosques, hospitals, and in the construction of commodious quays, fountains, bridges, and aqueducts, which, penetrating the sides of the mountains, or sweeping on lofty arches across the valleys, rivalled in their proportions the monuments of ancient Rome. These works, which were scattered more or less over all the provinces, contributed especially to the embellishment of Cordova, the capital of the empire.* The delightful situation of this city, in the midst of a cultivated plain washed by the waters of the Guadalquivir, made it very early the favorite residence of the Arabs, who loved to surround their houses, even in the cities, with groves and refreshing fountains, so

[13] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, ubi supra.—Masdeu, Historia crítica, tom. xiii. pp. 178, 187.

* [For an elaborate description of the marvels of Cordova, see Guyangos, The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, book iii.—M.]

delightful to the imagination of a wanderer of the desert.[14] The public squares and private courtyards sparkled with *jets d'eau,* fed by copious streams from the Sierra Morena, which, besides supplying nine hundred public baths, were conducted into the interior of the edifices, where they diffused a grateful coolness over the sleeping-apartments of their luxurious inhabitants.[15]

Without adverting to that magnificent freak of the caliphs, the construction of the palace of Azahra, of which not a vestige now exists, we may form a sufficient notion of the taste and magnificence of this era from the remains of the far-famed mosque, now the cathedral of Cordova.* This building, which still covers more ground than any other church in Christendom, was esteemed the third in sanctity by the Mahometan world, being inferior only to the Alaksa of Jerusalem and the temple of Mecca. Most of its ancient

[14] The same taste is noticed at the present day, by a traveller whose pictures glow with the warm colors of the East: "Aussi dès que vous approchez, en Europe ou en Asie, d'une terre possédée par les Musulmans, vous la reconnaissez de loin au riche et sombre voile de verdure qui flotte gracieusement sur elle:—des arbres pour s'asseoir à leur ombre, des fontaines jaillissantes pour rêver à leur bruit, du silence et des mosquées aux légers minarets, s'élevant à chaque pas du sein d'une terre pieuse." Lamartine, Voyage en Orient, tom. i. p. 172.

[15] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. pp. 199, 265, 284, 285, 417, 446, 447, et alibi.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. pp. 227–230 et seq.

* [A strange fortune has attended two of the most famous religious buildings in the world. The mosque of Cordova, most splendid of Mahometan structures, is now a Christian church. The church of the Divine Wisdom at Constantinople, most gorgeous in its day of all Christian structures, is now a Mahometan mosque. —M.]

glories have indeed long since departed. The rich bronze which embossed its gates, the myriads of lamps which illuminated its aisles, have disappeared; and its interior roof of odoriferous and curiously carved wood has been cut up into guitars and snuff-boxes. But its thousand columns of variegated marble still remain; and its general dimensions, notwithstanding some loose assertions to the contrary, seem to be much the same as they were in the time of the Saracens. European critics, however, condemn its most elaborate beauties as "heavy and barbarous." Its celebrated portals are pronounced "diminutive, and in very bad taste." Its throng of pillars gives it the air of "a park rather than a temple," and the whole is made still more incongruous by the unequal length of their shafts,* being grotesquely compensated by a proportionate variation of size in their bases and capitals, rudely fashioned after the Corinthian order.[16] †

[16] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. pp. 211, 212, 226.—Swinburne, Travels through Spain (London, 1787), let. 35.—Xerif Aledris, conocido por El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, con Traduccion y Notas de Conde (Madrid, 1799), pp. 161, 162.—Morales, Obras, tom. x. p. 61.—Chenier, Recherches historiques sur les Maures, et Histoire de l'Empire de Maroc (Paris, 1787), tom. ii. p. 312.—Laborde, Itinéraire, tom. iii. p. 226.

* [In not a few churches in Rome the visitor may see to-day pillars with unequal shafts; stilted bases are not uncommon, and there is sometimes a large variation in the capitals.—M.]

† ["On the west side of this mosque Alhakem built a house for the distribution of alms, in which such poor travellers and people as lost their way in the city, or did not know whither to go, or were devoid of sufficient means to provide for their wants during their residence in the capital, met always with a charitable reception, and were hospitably entertained and furnished with every necessary, owing to the vast sums with which the establishment was endowed

But if all this gives a contemptible idea of the taste of the Saracens at this period, which indeed, in architecture, seems to have been far inferior to that of the later princes of Granada, we cannot but be astonished at the adequacy of their resources to carry such magnificent designs into execution. Their revenue, we are told in explanation, amounted to eight millions of *mitcales* of gold, or nearly six millions sterling; a sum fifteen-fold greater than that which William the Conqueror, in the subsequent century, was able to extort from his subjects, with all the ingenuity of feudal exaction. The tone of exaggeration which distinguishes the Asiatic writers entitles them perhaps to little confidence in their numerical estimates. This immense wealth, however, is predicated of other Mahometan princes of that age; and their vast superiority over the Christian states of the north, in arts and effective industry, may well account for a corresponding superiority in their resources.

The revenue of the Cordovan sovereigns was derived from the fifth of the spoil taken in battle, an important item in an age of unintermitting war and rapine; from the enormous exaction of one-tenth of the produce of commerce, husbandry, flocks, and mines; from a capitation tax on Jews and Christians; and from certain tolls on the

by the Khalif. Several houses for the poor were likewise erected by Alhakem over against the great western gate of the mosque." Guyangos, Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, i. p. 227. These houses were destined chiefly for poor theological students, or students who came from the provinces to study law. They received not only food but also money. Eminent literary men were likewise admitted and treated with distinguished honor. Ibid., p. 499.—M.]

transportation of goods. They engaged in commerce on their own account, and drew from mines, which belonged to the crown, a conspicuous part of their income.[17]

Before the discovery of America, Spain was to the rest of Europe what her colonies have since become, the great source of mineral wealth. The Carthaginians, and the Romans afterwards, regularly drew from her large masses of the precious metals. Pliny, who resided some time in the country, relates that three of her provinces were said to have annually yielded the incredible quantity of sixty thousand pounds of gold.[18] The Arabs, with their usual activity, penetrated into these arcana of wealth. Abundant traces of their labors are still to be met with along the barren ridge of mountains that covers the north of Andalusia; and the diligent Bowles has enumerated no less than five thousand of their excavations in the kingdom or district of Jaen.[19]

But the best mine of the caliphs was in the industry and sobriety of their subjects. The Ara-

[17] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. pp. 214, 228, 270, 611. Masdeu, Historia crítica, tom. xiii. p. 118.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. pp. 338–343.—Casiri quotes from an Arabic historian the conditions on which Abderrahman I. proffered his alliance to the Christian princes of Spain, viz. the annual tribute of 10,000 ounces of gold, 10,000 pounds of silver, 10,000 horses, etc., etc. The absurdity of this story, inconsiderately repeated by historians, if any argument were necessary to prove it, becomes sufficiently manifest from the fact that the instrument is dated in the 142d year of the Hegira, being a little more than fifty years after the conquest. See Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis (Matriti, 1760), tom. ii. p. 104.

[18] Hist. Naturalis, lib. 33, cap. 4.

[19] Introduction à l'Histoire naturelle de l'Espagne, traduite par Flavigny (Paris, 1776), p. 411.

bian colonies have been properly classed among the agricultural. Their acquaintance with the science of husbandry is shown in their voluminous treatises on the subject, and in the monuments which they have everywhere left of their peculiar culture. The system of irrigation, which has so long fertilized the south of Spain, was derived from them. They introduced into the Peninsula various tropical plants and vegetables, whose cultivation has departed with them. Sugar, which the modern Spaniards have been obliged to import from foreign nations in large quantities annually for their domestic consumption, until within the last half-century, when they have been supplied by their island of Cuba, constituted one of the principal exports of the Spanish Arabs. The silk manufacture was carried on by them extensively. The Nubian geographer, in the beginning of the twelfth century, enumerates six hundred villages in Jaen as engaged in it, at a time when it was known to the Europeans only from their circuitous traffic with the Greek empire. This, together with fine fabrics of cotton and woollen, formed the staple of an active commerce with the Levant, and especially with Constantinople, whence they were again diffused, by means of the caravans of the North, over the comparatively barbarous countries of Christendom.

The population kept pace with this general prosperity of the country. It would appear, from a census instituted at Cordova * at the close of the

* [Consult also Guyangos, The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, book iii.—M.]

tenth century, that there were at that time in it six hundred temples and two hundred thousand dwelling-houses; many of these latter being, probably, mere huts or cabins, and occupied by separate families. Without placing too much reliance on any numerical statements, however, we may give due weight to the inference of an intelligent writer, who remarks that their minute cultivation of the soil, the cheapness of their labor, their particular attention to the most nutritious esculents, many of them such as would be rejected by Europeans at this day, are indicative of a crowded population, like that, perhaps, which swarms over Japan or China, where the same economy is necessarily resorted to for the mere sustenance of life.[20]

Whatever consequence a nation may derive, in its own age, from physical resources, its intellectual development will form the subject of deepest interest to posterity. The most flourishing periods of both not unfrequently coincide. Thus the reigns of Abderrahman the Third, Alhakem the

[20] See a sensible essay by the Abbé Correa da Serra on the husbandry of the Spanish Arabs, contained in tom. i. of Archives littéraires de l'Europe (Paris, 1804).—Masdeu, Historia crítica, tom. xiii. pp. 115, 117, 127, 131.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. cap. 44.—Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. i. p. 338.—An absurd story has been transcribed from Cardonne, with little hesitation, by almost every succeeding writer upon this subject. According to him (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 338), "the banks of the Guadalquivir were lined with no less than twelve thousand villages and hamlets." The length of the river, not exceeding three hundred miles, would scarcely afford room for the same number of farm-houses. Conde's version of the Arabic passage represents twelve thousand hamlets, farms, and castles to have "been scattered over the regions watered by the Guadalquivir;" indicating by this indefinite statement nothing more than the extreme populousness of the province of Andalusia.

Second, and the regency of Almanzor, embracing the latter half of the tenth century, during which the Spanish Arabs reached their highest political importance, may be regarded as the period of their highest civilization under the Omeyades, although the impulse then given carried them forward to still further advances in the turbulent times which followed. This beneficent impulse is, above all, imputable to Alhakem. He was one of those rare beings who have employed the awful engine of despotism in promoting the happiness and intelligence of his species. In his elegant tastes, appetite for knowledge, and munificent patronage, he may be compared with the best of the Medici. He assembled the eminent scholars of his time, both natives and foreigners, at his court, where he employed them in the most confidential offices. He converted his palace into an academy, making it the familiar resort of men of letters, at whose conferences he personally assisted in his intervals of leisure from public duty. He selected the most suitable persons for the composition of works on civil and natural history, requiring the prefects of his provinces and cities to furnish, as far as possible, the necessary intelligence. He was a diligent student, and left many of the volumes which he read enriched with his commentaries. Above all, he was intent upon the acquisition of an extensive library. He invited illustrious foreigners to send him their works, and munificently recompensed them. No donative was so grateful to him as a book. He employed agents in Egypt, Syria, Irak, and Persia, for collecting and transcribing

the rarest manuscripts; and his vessels returned freighted with cargoes more precious than the spices of the East. In this way he amassed a magnificent collection, which was distributed, according to the subjects, in various apartments of his palace, and which, if we may credit the Arabian historians, amounted to six hundred thousand volumes.[21] *

If all this be thought to savor too much of Eastern hyperbole, still it cannot be doubted that an amazing number of writers swarmed over the Peninsula at this period. Casiri's multifarious catalogue bears ample testimony to the emulation with which not only men, but even women of the highest rank, devoted themselves to letters; the latter contending publicly for the prizes, not merely in eloquence and poetry, but in those recondite studies which have usually been reserved for the other sex. The prefects of the provinces, emulating their masters, converted their courts into academies, and dispensed premiums to poets and philosophers. The stream of royal bounty awakened life in the remotest districts. But

[21] Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. pp. 38, 202.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, part. 2, cap. 88.—This number will appear less startling if we consider that it was the ancient usage to make a separate volume of each book into which a work was divided; that only one side of the leaf was usually written on, and that writing always covers much greater space than printing. The correct grounds on which the estimates of these ancient libraries are to be formed are exhibited by the learned and ingenious Balbi, in his recent work, "Essai statistique sur les Bibliothèques de Vienne." (Vienne, 1835.)

* [The most remarkable statement made concerning Alhakem is that he *read* his books. To the ordinary book-collector this seems incredible.—M.]

its effects were especially visible in the capital. Eighty free schools were opened in Cordova. The circle of letters and science was publicly expounded by professors, whose reputation for wisdom attracted not only the scholars of Christian Spain, but of France, Italy, Germany, and the British Isles. For this period of brilliant illumination with the Saracens corresponds precisely with that of the deepest barbarism of Europe; when a library of three or four hundred volumes was a magnificent endowment for the richest monastery; when scarcely a "priest south of the Thames," in the words of Alfred, "could translate Latin into his mother tongue;" when not a single philosopher, according to Tiraboschi, was to be met with in Italy, save only the French pope Sylvester the Second, who drew his knowledge from the schools of the Spanish Arabs, and was esteemed a necromancer for his pains.[22]

Such is the glowing picture presented to us of Arabian scholarship, in the tenth and succeeding centuries, under a despotic government and a sensual religion; and, whatever judgment may be

[22] Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana (Roma, 1782–97), tom. iii. p. 231.—Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons (London, 1820), vol. iii. p. 137.—Andres, Dell' Origine, de' Progressi e dello Stato attuale d'ogni Letteratura (Venezia, 1783), part. 1, cap. 8, 9.—Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 149.—Masdeu, Historia crítica, tom. xiii. pp. 165, 171.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, part. 2, cap. 93.—Among the accomplished women of this period, Valadata, the daughter of the caliph Mahomet, is celebrated as having frequently carried away the palm of eloquence in her discussions with the most learned academicians. Others again, with an intrepidity that might shame the degeneracy of a modern *blue*, plunged boldly into the studies of philosophy, history, and jurisprudence.

passed on the real value of all their boasted literature, it cannot be denied that the nation exhibited a wonderful activity of intellect, and an apparatus for learning (if we are to admit their own statements) unrivalled in the best ages of antiquity.

The Mahometan governments of that period rested on so unsound a basis that the season of their greatest prosperity was often followed by precipitate decay. This had been the case with the Eastern caliphate, and was now so with the Western. During the life of Alhakem's successor, the empire of the Omeyades was broken up into a hundred petty principalities; and their magnificent capital of Cordova, dwindling into a second-rate city, retained no other distinction than that of being the Mecca of Spain. These little states soon became a prey to all the evils arising out of a vicious constitution of government and religion. Almost every accession to the throne was contested by numerous competitors of the same family; and a succession of sovereigns, wearing on their brows but the semblance of a crown, came and departed, like the shadows of Macbeth. The motley tribes of Asiatics, of whom the Spanish Arabian population was composed, regarded each other with ill-disguised jealousy. The lawless, predatory habits, which no discipline could effectually control in an Arab, made them ever ready for revolt. The Moslem states, thus reduced in size and crippled by faction, were unable to resist the Christian forces, which were pressing on them from the north. By the middle of the ninth century the Spaniards had reached the Douro and the Ebro. By the close of

the eleventh they had advanced their line of conquest, under the victorious banner of the Cid, to the Tagus. The swarms of Africans who invaded the Peninsula, during the two following centuries, gave substantial support to their Mahometan brethren; and the cause of Christian Spain trembled in the balance for a moment on the memorable day of Navas de Tolosa. (1212.) But the fortunate issue of that battle, in which, according to the lying letter of Alfonso the Ninth, "one hundred and eighty-five thousand infidels perished, and only five-and-twenty Spaniards," gave a permanent ascendency to the Christian arms. The vigorous campaigns of James the First of Aragon, and of St. Ferdinand of Castile, gradually stripped away the remaining territories of Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia; so that by the middle of the thirteenth century the constantly contracting circle of the Moorish dominion had shrunk into the narrow limits of the province of Granada. Yet on this comparatively small point of their ancient domain the Saracens erected a new kingdom, of sufficient strength to resist, for more than two centuries, the united forces of the Spanish monarchies.

The Moorish territory of Granada contained, within a circuit of about one hundred and eighty leagues, all the physical resources of a great empire. Its broad valleys were intersected by mountains rich in mineral wealth, whose hardy population supplied the state with husbandmen and soldiers. Its pastures were fed by abundant fountains, and its coast studded with commodious

ports, the principal marts in the Mediterranean. In the midst, and crowning the whole as with a diadem, rose the beautiful city of Granada. In the days of the Moors it was encompassed by a wall, flanked by a thousand and thirty towers, with seven portals.[23] Its population, according to a contemporary, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, amounted to two hundred thousand souls;[24] and various authors agree in attesting that at a later period it could send forth fifty thousand warriors from its gates. This statement will not appear exaggerated, if we consider that the native population of the city was greatly swelled by the influx of the ancient inhabitants of the districts lately conquered by the Spaniards. On the summit of one of the hills of the city was erected the royal fortress or palace of the Alhambra, which was capable of containing within its circuit forty thousand men.[25] The light and elegant architecture of this edifice, whose magnificent ruins still form the most interesting monument in Spain for the contemplation of the traveller, shows the great advancement of the art since the construction of the celebrated mosque of Cordova. Its graceful porticos and colonnades, its domes and ceilings, glowing with tints which, in that transparent atmosphere, have lost nothing of their original brilliancy, its airy halls, so constructed as to admit the perfume of surrounding gardens and agreeable ventilations of the air, and its fountains, which

[23] Garibay, Compendio, lib. 39, cap. 3.
[24] Zurita, Anales, lib. 20, cap. 42.
[25] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 169.

still shed their coolness over its deserted courts, manifest at once the taste, opulence, and Sybarite luxury of its proprietors. The streets are represented to have been narrow, many of the houses lofty, with turrets of curiously wrought larch or marble, and with cornices of shining metal, "that glittered like stars through the dark foliage of the orange groves;" and the whole is compared to "an enamelled vase, sparkling with hyacinths and emeralds."[26] Such are the florid strains in which the Arabic writers fondly descant on the glories of Granada.

At the foot of this fabric of the genii lay the cultivated *vega,* or plain, so celebrated as the arena, for more than two centuries, of Moorish and Christian chivalry, every inch of whose soil may be said to have been fertilized with human blood. The Arabs exhausted on it all their powers of elaborate cultivation. They distributed the waters of the Xenil, which flowed through it, into a thousand channels for its more perfect irrigation. A constant succession of fruits and crops was obtained throughout the year. The products of the most opposite latitudes were transplanted there with

[26] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. ii. p. 147.—Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. pp. 248 et seq.—Pedraza, Antigüedad y Excelencias de Granada (Madrid, 1608), lib. 1.—Pedraza has collected the various etymologies of the term *Granada,* which some writers have traced to the fact of the city having been the spot where the *pomegranate* was first introduced from Africa; others to the large quantity of *grain* in which its vega abounded; others again to the resemblance which the city, divided into two hills thickly sprinkled with houses, bore to a half-opened pomegranate. (Lib. 2, cap. 17.) The arms of the city, which were in part composed of a pomegranate, would seem to favor the derivation of its name from that of the fruit.

success; and the hemp of the north grew luxuriant under the shadow of the vine and the olive. Silk furnished the principal staple of a traffic that was carried on through the ports of Almeria and Malaga. The Italian cities, then rising into opulence, derived their principal skill in this elegant manufacture from the Spanish Arabs. Florence, in particular, imported large quantities of the raw material from them as late as the fifteenth century. The Genoese are mentioned as having mercantile establishments in Granada; and treaties of commerce were entered into with this nation, as well as with the crown of Aragon. Their ports swarmed with a motley contribution from "Europe, Africa, and the Levant," so that "Granada," in the words of the historian, "became the common city of all nations." "The reputation of the citizens for trustworthiness," says a Spanish writer, "was such that their bare word was more relied on than a written contract is now among us;" and he quotes the saying of a Catholic bishop, that "Moorish works and Spanish faith were all that were necessary to make a good Christian." [27]

The revenue, which was computed at twelve hundred thousand ducats, was derived from similar

[27] Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 101.—Denina, Delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia (Venezia, 1816).—Capmany y Montpalau, Memorias históricas sobre la Marina, Comercio y Artes de Barcelona (Madrid, 1779–92), tom. iii. p. 218; tom. iv. pp. 67 et seq.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 26.—The ambassador of the emperor Frederick III., on his passage to the court of Lisbon in the middle of the fifteenth century, contrasts the superior cultivation, as well as general civilization, of Granada at this period with that of the other countries of Europe through which he had travelled. Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyan-Age (Paris, 1818), tom. ix. p. 405.

but in some respects heavier impositions than those of the caliphs of Cordova. The crown, besides being possessed of valuable plantations in the vega, imposed the onerous tax of one-seventh on all the agricultural produce of the kingdom. The precious metals were also obtained in considerable quantities, and the royal mint was noted for the purity and elegance of its coin.[28]

The sovereigns of Granada were for the most part distinguished by liberal tastes. They freely dispensed their revenues in the protection of letters, in the construction of sumptuous public works, and, above all, in the display of a courtly pomp unrivalled by any of the princes of that period. Each day presented a succession of *fêtes* and tourneys, in which the knight seemed less ambitious of the hardy prowess of Christian chivalry than of displaying his inimitable horsemanship, and his dexterity in the elegant pastimes peculiar to his nation. The people of Granada, like those of ancient Rome, seem to have demanded a perpetual spectacle. Life was with them one long carnival, and the season of revelry was prolonged until the enemy was at the gate.

During the interval which had elapsed since the decay of the Omeyades, the Spaniards had been gradually rising in civilization to the level of their Saracen enemies; and, while their increased consequence secured them from the contempt with which they had formerly been regarded by the

[28] Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. pp. 250–258.—The fifth volume of the Memoirs of the Spanish Academy of History contains an erudite essay by Conde on Arabic money, principally with reference to that coined in Spain; pp. 225–315.

Mussulmans, the latter, in their turn, had not so far sunk in the scale as to become the objects of the bigoted aversion which was, in after-days, so heartily visited on them by the Spaniards. At this period, therefore, the two nations viewed each other with more liberality, probably, than at any previous or succeeding time. Their respective monarchs conducted their mutual negotiations on a footing of perfect equality. We find several examples of Arabic sovereigns visiting in person the court of Castile. These civilities were reciprocated by the Christian princes. As late as 1463, Henry the Fourth had a personal interview with the king of Granada, in the dominions of the latter. The two monarchs held their conference under a splendid pavilion erected in the vega, before the gates of the city; and, after an exchange of presents, the Spanish sovereign was escorted to the frontiers by a body of Moorish cavaliers. These acts of courtesy relieve in some measure the ruder features of an almost uninterrupted warfare, that was necessarily kept up between the rival nations.[29]

[29] A specification of a royal donative in that day may serve to show the martial spirit of the age. In one, made by the king of Granada to the Castilian sovereign, we find twenty noble steeds of the royal stud, reared on the banks of the Xenil, with superb caparisons, and the same number of scimitars richly garnished with gold and jewels; and, in another, mixed up with perfumes and cloth of gold, we meet with a litter of tame lions. (Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 163, 183.) This latter symbol of royalty appears to have been deemed peculiarly appropriate to the kings of Leon. Ferreras informs us that the ambassadors from France at the Castilian court, in 1434, were received by John II. with a full-grown domesticated lion crouching at his feet. (Hist. d'Espagne, tom. vi. p. 401.) The same taste appears still to exist in Turkey. Dr. Clarke, in his visit to Constantinople, met with one of these terrific pets, who used to follow his master, Hassan Pacha, about like a dog,

The Moorish and Christian knights were also in the habit of exchanging visits at the courts of their respective masters. The latter were wont to repair to Granada to settle their affairs of honor, by personal rencounter, in the presence of its sovereign. The disaffected nobles of Castile, among whom Mariana especially notices the Velas and the Castros, often sought an asylum there, and served under the Moslem banner. With this interchange of social courtesy between the two nations, it could not but happen that each should contract some of the peculiarities natural to the other. The Spaniard acquired something of the gravity and magnificence of demeanor proper to the Arabian; and the latter relaxed his habitual reserve, and, above all, the jealousy and gross sensuality which characterize the nations of the East.[30]

Indeed, if we were to rely on the pictures presented to us in the Spanish ballads or *romances,* we should admit as unreserved an intercourse between the sexes to have existed among the Spanish Arabs as with any other people of Europe. The Moorish lady is represented there as an undisguised spectator of the public festivals; while her knight, bearing an embroidered mantle or scarf, or some other token of her favor, contends openly in her presence for the prize of valor, mingles with

[30] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 28.—Henriquez del Castillo (Crónica, cap. 138) gives an account of an intended duel between two Castilian nobles, in the presence of the king of Granada, as late as 1470. One of the parties, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, failing to keep his engagement, the other rode round the lists in triumph, with his adversary's portrait contemptuously fastened to the tail of his horse.

her in the graceful dance of the Zambra, or sighs away his soul in moonlight serenades under her balcony.[31]

Other circumstances, especially the frescos still extant on the walls of the Alhambra, may be cited as corroborative of the conclusions afforded by the *romances,* implying a latitude in the privileges accorded to the sex, similar to that in Christian countries, and altogether alien from the genius

[31] It must be admitted that these ballads, so far as facts are concerned, are too inexact to furnish other than a very slippery foundation for history. The most beautiful portion perhaps of the Moorish ballads, for example, is taken up with the feuds of the Abencerrages in the latter days of Granada. Yet this family, whose romantic story is still repeated to the traveller amid the ruins of the Alhambra, is scarcely noticed, as far as I am aware, by contemporary writers, foreign or domestic, and would seem to owe its chief celebrity to the apocryphal version of Ginés Perez de Hita, whose "Milesian tales," according to the severe sentence of Nic. Antonio, "are fit only to amuse the lazy and the listless." (Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. p. 536.)

But, although the Spanish ballads are not entitled to the credit of strict historical documents, they may yet perhaps be received in evidence of the prevailing character of the social relations of the age; a remark indeed predicable of most works of fiction written by authors contemporary with the events they describe, and more especially so of that popular minstrelsy which, emanating from a simple, uncorrupted class, is less likely to swerve from truth than more ostentatious works of art. The long cohabitations of the Saracens with the Christians (full evidence of which is afforded by Capmany (Mem. de Barcelona, tom. iv. Apend. No. 11), who quotes a document from the public archives of Catalonia, showing the great number of Saracens residing in Aragon even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the most flourishing period of the Granadian empire) had enabled many of them confessedly to speak and write the Spanish language with purity and elegance. Some of the graceful little songs which are still chanted by the peasantry of Spain in their dances, to the accompaniment of the castanet, are referred by a competent critic (Conde, de la Poesía Oriental, MS.) to an Arabian origin. There can be little hazard, therefore, in imputing much of this peculiar minstrelsy to the Arabians themselves, the contemporaries, and perhaps the eye-witnesses, of the events they celebrate.

of Mahometanism.[32] The chivalrous character ascribed to the Spanish Moslems appears, moreover, in perfect conformity to this. Thus some of their sovereigns, we are told, after the fatigues of the tournament, were wont to recreate their spirits with "elegant poetry, and florid discourses of amorous and knightly history." The ten qualities enumerated as essential to a true knight were "piety, valor, courtesy, prowess, the gifts of poetry and eloquence, and dexterity in the management of the horse, the sword, lance, and bow."[33] The history of the Spanish Arabs, especially in the latter wars of Granada, furnishes repeated examples, not merely of the heroism which distinguished the European chivalry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but occasionally of a polished courtesy that might have graced a

[32] Casiri (Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 259) has transcribed a passage from an Arabian author of the fourteenth century, inveighing bitterly against the luxury of the Moorish ladies, their gorgeous apparel and habits of expense, "amounting almost to insanity," in a tone which may remind one of the similar philippic by his contemporary Dante against his fair countrywomen of Florence. Two ordinances of a king of Granada, cited by Conde in his History, perscribe the separation of the women from the men in the mosques, and prohibit their attendance at certain festivals without the protection of their husbands or some near relative. Their *femmes savantes,* as we have seen, were in the habit of conferring freely with men of letters, and of assisting in person at the academical *séances.* And lastly, the frescoes alluded to in the text represent the presence of females at the tournaments and the fortunate knight receiving the palm of victory from their hands.

[33] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. p. 340; tom. iii. p. 119. —The reader may compare these essentials of a good Moslem cavalier with those enumerated by old Froissart of a good and true Christian knight of his own day: "Le gentil chevalier a toutes ces nobles vertus que un chevalier doit avoir: il fut lie, loyal, amoureux, sage, secret, large, pieux, hardi, entreprenant, et chevaleureux."—Chroniques, liv. ii. chap. 118.

Bayard or a Sidney. This combination of Oriental magnificence and knightly prowess shed a ray of glory over the closing days of the Arabic empire in Spain, and served to conceal, though it could not correct, the vices which it possessed in common with all Mahometan institutions.

The government of Granada was not administered with the same tranquillity as that of Cordova. Revolutions were perpetually occurring, which may be traced sometimes to the tyranny of the prince, but more frequently to the factions of the seraglio, the soldiery, or the licentious populace of the capital. The latter, more volatile than the sands of the deserts from which they originally sprung, were driven by every gust of passion into frightful excesses, deposing and even assassinating their monarchs, violating their palaces, and scattering abroad their beautiful collections and libraries; while the kingdom, unlike that of Codova, was so contracted in its extent that every convulsion of the capital was felt to its farthest extremities. Still, however, it held out, almost miraculously, against the Christian arms; and the storms that beat upon it incessantly, for more than two centuries, scarcely wore away anything from its original limits.

Several circumstances may be pointed out as enabling Granada to maintain this protracted resistance. Its concentrated population furnished such abundant supplies of soldiers that its sovereigns could bring into the field an army of a hundred thousand men.[34] Many of these were

[34] Casiri, on Arabic authority, computes it at 200,000 men. Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. i. p. 338.

drawn from the regions of the Alpujarras, whose rugged inhabitants had not been corrupted by the soft effeminacy of the plains. The ranks were occasionally recruited, moreover, from the warlike tribes of Africa. The Moors of Granada are praised by their enemies for their skill with the cross-bow, to the use of which they were trained from childhood.[35] But their strength lay chiefly in their cavalry. Their spacious vegas afforded an ample field for the display of their matchless horsemanship; while the face of the country, intersected by mountains and intricate defiles, gave a manifest advantage to the Arabic light-horse over the steel-clad cavalry of the Christians, and was particularly suited to the wild *guerrilla* warfare in which the Moors so much excelled. During the long hostilities of the country, almost every city had been converted into a fortress. The number of these fortified places in the territory of Granada was ten times as great as is now to be found throughout the whole Peninsula.[36] Lastly, in addition to these means of defence, may be mentioned their early acquaintance with gunpowder, which, like the Greek fire of Constantinople, contributed perhaps in some degree to prolong a precarious existence beyond its natural term.

But, after all, the strength of Granada, like that of Constantinople, lay less in its own resources

[35] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 250.

[36] Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 169.—These ruined fortifications still thickly stud the border territories of Granada; and many an Andalusian mill, along the banks of the Guadayra and Guadalquivir, retains its battlemented tower, which served for the defence of its inmates against the forays of the enemy.

than in the weakness of its enemies, who, distracted by the feuds of a turbulent aristocracy, especially during the long minorities with which Castile was afflicted perhaps more than any other nation in Europe, seemed to be more remote from the conquest of Granada at the death of Henry the Fourth than at that of St. Ferdinand in the thirteenth century. Before entering on the achievement of this conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella, it may not be amiss to notice the probable influence exerted by the Spanish Arabs on European civilization.

Notwithstanding the high advances made by the Arabians in almost every branch of learning, and the liberal import of certain sayings ascribed to Mahomet, the spirit of his religion was eminently unfavorable to letters. The Koran, whatever be the merit of its literary execution, does not, we believe, contain a single precept in favor of general science.[37] Indeed, during the first century after its promulgation, almost as little attention was bestowed upon this by the Saracens as in their "days of ignorance," as the period is stigmatized which preceded the advent of their apostle.[38] But,

[37] D'Herbelot (Bib. Orientale, tom. i. p. 630), among other authentic traditions of Mahomet, quotes one as indicating his encouragement of letters, viz.: "That the ink of the doctors and the blood of the martyrs are of equal price." M. Œlsner (Des Effets de la Religion de Mohammed, Paris, 1810) has cited several others of the same liberal import. But such traditions cannot be received in evidence of the original doctrine of the prophet. They are rejected as apocryphal by the Persians and the whole sect of the Shiites, and are entitled to little weight with a European.

[38] When the caliph Al Mamon encouraged, by his example as well as patronage, a more enlightened policy, he was accused by the more orthodox Mussulmans of attempting to subvert the principles of

after the nation had reposed from its tumultuous military career, the taste for elegant pleasures, which naturally results from opulence and leisure, began to flow in upon it. It entered upon this new field with all its characteristic enthusiasm, and seemed ambitious of attaining the same pre-eminence in science that it had already reached in arms.

It was at the commencement of this period of intellectual fermentation that the last of the Omeyades, escaping into Spain, established there the kingdom of Cordova, and imported along with him the fondness for luxury and letters that had begun to display itself in the capitals of the East. His munificent spirit descended upon his successors; and, on the breaking up of the empire, the various capitals, Seville, Murcia, Malaga, Granada, and others, which rose upon its ruins, became the centres of so many intellectual systems, that continued to emit a steady lustre through the clouds and darkness of succeeding centuries. The period of this literary civilization reached far into the fourteenth century, and thus, embracing an interval of six hundred years, may be said to have exceeded in duration that of any other literature, ancient or modern.

There were several auspicious circumstances in the condition of the Spanish Arabs, which distinguished them from their Mahometan brethren. The temperate climate of Spain was far more propitious to robustness and elasticity of intellect than

their religion. See Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arabum (Oxon. 1650), p. 166.

the sultry regions of Arabia and Africa. Its long line of coast and convenient havens opened to it an enlarged commerce. Its number of rival states encouraged a generous emulation, like that which glowed in ancient Greece and modern Italy, and was infinitely more favorable to the development of the mental powers than the far-extended and sluggish empires of Asia. Lastly, a familiar intercourse with the Europeans served to mitigate in the Spanish Arabs some of the more degrading superstitions incident to their religion, and to impart to them nobler ideas of the independence and moral dignity of man than are to be found in the slaves of Eastern despotism.

Under these favorable circumstances, provisions for education were liberally multiplied, colleges, academies, and gymnasiums springing up spontaneously, as it were, not merely in the principal cities, but in the most obscure villages of the country. No less than fifty of these colleges or schools could be discerned scattered over the suburbs and populous plain of Granada. Every place of note seems to have furnished materials for a literary history. The copious catalogues of writers, still extant in the Escurial, show how extensively the cultivation of science was pursued, even through its minutest subdivisions; while a biographical notice of blind men eminent for their scholarship in Spain proves how far the general avidity for knowledge triumphed over the most discouraging obstacles of nature.[39]

[39] Andres, Letteratura, part. I, cap. 8, 10.—Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. pp. 71, 251 et passim.—I had stated in the

The Spanish Arabs emulated their countrymen of the East in their devotion to natural and mathematical science. They penetrated into the remotest regions of Africa and Asia, transmitting an exact account of their proceedings to the national academies. They contributed to astronomical knowledge by the number and accuracy of their observations, and by the improvement of instruments and the erection of observatories, of which the noble tower of Seville is one of the earliest examples. They furnished their full proportion in the department of history, which, according to an Arabian author cited by D'Herbelot, could boast of thirteen hundred writers. The treatises on logic and metaphysics amount to one-ninth of the surviving treasures of the Escurial; and, to conclude this summary of naked details, some of their scholars appear to have entered upon as various a field of philosophical inquiry as would be crowded into a modern encyclopædia.[40]

The results, it must be confessed, do not appear to have corresponded with this magnificent appa-

early editions, on the authority of Casiri, that seventy public libraries existed in Spain at the beginning of the fourteenth century. A sagacious critic in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1839, in a well-deserved stricture on this passage, remarks that, after a careful examination of the manuscript in the Escurial to which Casiri refers for his account, he could find no warrant for the assertion. It must be confessed to savor rather strongly of the *gigantesque*.

[40] Casiri mentions one of these universal geniuses, who publishes no less than a thousand and fifty treatises on the various topics of Ethics, History, Law, Medicine, etc.! Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 107.—See also tom. i. p. 370; tom. ii. p. 71 et alibi.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 22.—D'Herbelot, Bib. Orientale, voce *Tarikh*.—Masdeu, Historia crítica, tom. xiii. pp. 203, 205.—Andres, Letteratura, part. 1, cap. 8.

ratus and unrivalled activity of research. The mind of the Arabians was distinguished by the most opposite characteristics, which sometimes, indeed, served to neutralize each other. An acute and subtile perception was often clouded by mysticism and abstraction. They combined a habit of classification and generalization with a marvellous fondness for detail; a vivacious fancy with a patience of application that a German of our day might envy; and, while in fiction they launched boldly into originality, indeed extravagance, they were content in philosophy to tread servilely in the track of their ancient masters. They derived their science from versions of the Greek philosophers; but, as their previous discipline had not prepared them for its reception, they were oppressed rather than stimulated by the weight of the inheritance. They possessed an indefinite power of accumulation, but they rarely ascended to general principles, or struck out new and important truths; at least, this is certain in regard to their metaphysical labors.

Hence Aristotle, who taught them to arrange what they had already acquired, rather than to advance to new discoveries, became the god of their idolatry. They piled commentary on commentary, and, in their blind admiration of his system, may be almost said to have been more of Peripatetics than the Stagirite himself. The Cordovan Averroes was the most eminent of his Arabic commentators, and undoubtedly contributed more than any other indivdual to establish the authority of Aristotle over the reason of man-

kind for so many ages. Yet his various illustrations have served, in the opinion of European critics, to darken rather than dissipate the ambiguities of his original, and have even led to the confident assertion that he was wholly unacquainted with the Greek language.[41] *

The Saracens gave an entirely new face to pharmacy and chemistry. They introduced a great variety of salutary medicaments into Europe. The Spanish Arabs, in particular, are commended by Sprengel above their brethren for their observations on the practice of medicine.[42] But

[41] Consult the sensible, though perhaps severe, remarks of Degerando on Arabian science. (Hist. de la Philosophie, tom. iv. cap. 24.)—The reader may also peruse with advantage a disquisition on Arabian metaphysics in Turner's History of England, vol. iv. pp. 405–449.—Brucker, Hist. Philosophiæ, tom. iii. p. 105.—Ludovicus Vives seems to have been the author of the imputation in the text. (Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. p. 394.) Averroes translated some of the philosophical works of Aristotle from the Greek into Arabic; a Latin version of which translation was afterwards made. D'Herbelot, however, is mistaken (Bib. orientale, art. *Roschd*) in saying that Averroes was the first who translated Aristotle into Arabic; as this has been done two centuries before, at least, by Honain and others in the ninth century (see Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. i. p. 304), and Bayle has shown that a Latin version of the Stagirite was used by the Europeans before the alleged period. See art. *Averroes*.

[42] Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine, traduite par Jourdan (Paris, 1815), tom. ii. pp. 263 et seq.

* [Averroes did not understand the Greek language. His translation of Aristotle was made from a Hebrew translation, of a commentary on an Arabic translation, of a Syriac translation, of the original Greek. But Averroes did introduce Aristotle to Western Europe through the Latin version of his translation. (See Renan, Averroes et l'averroïsme, p. 52 et seq.) No wonder that the mediæval student's knowledge of Aristotle was somewhat vague—knowledge that had drifted through a Latin version, of an Arabic version, of a Hebrew version, of an Arabic version, of a Syriac version, of the Greek original.—M.]

whatever real knowledge they possessed was corrupted by their inveterate propensity for mystical and occult science. They too often exhausted both health and fortune in fruitless researches after the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone. Their medical prescriptions were regulated by the aspect of the stars. Their physics were debased by magic, their chemistry degenerated into alchemy, their astronomy into astrology.

In the fruitful field of history their success was even more equivocal. They seem to have been wholly destitute of the philosophical spirit which gives life to this kind of composition. They were the disciples of fatalism and the subjects of a despotic government. Man appeared to them only in the contrasted aspects of slave and master. What could they know of the finer moral relations, or of the higher energies of the soul, which are developed only under free and beneficent institutions? Even could they have formed conceptions of these, how would they have dared to express them? Hence their histories are too often mere barren chronological details, or fulsome panegyrics on their princes, unenlivened by a single spark of philosophy or criticism.

Although the Spanish Arabs are not entitled to the credit of having wrought any important revolution in intellectual or moral science, they are commended by a severe critic as exhibiting in their writings " the germs of many theories which have been reproduced as discoveries in later ages," [43] and they silently perfected several of those useful

[43] Degerando, Hist. de la Philosophie, tom. iv. ubi supra.

arts which have had a sensible influence on the happiness and improvement of mankind. Algebra and the higher mathematics were taught in their schools, and thence diffused over Europe. The manufacture of paper, which, since the invention of printing, has contributed so essentially to the rapid circulation of knowledge, was derived through them. Casiri has discovered several manuscripts of cotton paper in the Escurial as early as 1009, and of linen paper of the date of 1106;[44] the origin of which latter fabric Tiraboschi has ascribed to an Italian of Trevigi, in the middle of the fourteenth century.[45] Lastly, the application of gunpowder to military science, which has wrought an equally important revolution, though of a more doubtful complexion, in the condition of society, was derived through the same channel.[46]

[44] Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 9.—Andres, Letteratura, part. 1, cap. 10.

[45] Letterature Italiana, tom. v. p. 87.

[46] The battle of Crecy furnishes the earliest instance on record of the use of artillery by the European Christians; although Du Cange, among several examples which he enumerates, has traced a distinct notice of its existence as far back as 1338. (Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis (Paris, 1793), and Supplément (Paris, 1766), voce *Bombarda.*) The history of the Spanish Arabs carries it to a much earlier period. It was employed by the Moorish king of Granada at the siege of Baza, in 1312 and 1325. (Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 18.—Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 7.) It is distinctly noticed in an Arabic treatise as ancient as 1249; and, finally, Casiri quotes a passage from a Spanish author at the close of the eleventh century (whose MS., according to Nic. Antonio, though familiar to scholars, lies still entombed in the dust of libraries), which describes the use of artillery in a naval engagement of that period between the Moors of Tunis and of Seville. Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 8. —Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. p. 12.

The influence of the Spanish Arabs, however, is discernible not so much in the amount of knowledge as in the impulse which they communicated to the long-dormant energies of Europe. Their invasion was coeval with the commencement of that night of darkness which divides the modern from the ancient world. The soil had been impoverished by long, assiduous cultivation. The Arabians came like a torrent, sweeping down and obliterating even the landmarks of former civilization, but bringing nevertheless a fertilizing principle, which, as the waters receded, gave new life and loveliness to the landscape. The writings of the Saracens were translated and diffused throughout Europe. Their schools were visited by disciples who, roused from their lethargy, caught somewhat of the generous enthusiasm of their masters; and a healthful action was given to the European intellect, which, however ill directed at first, was thus prepared for the more judicious and successful efforts of later times.

It is comparatively easy to determine the value of the scientific labors of a people, for truth is the same in all languages; but the laws of taste differ so widely in different nations that it requires a nicer discrimination to pronounce fairly upon such works as are regulated by them. Nothing is more common than to see the poetry of the East condemned as tumid, over-refined, infected with meretricious ornament and conceits, and, in short, as every way contravening the principles of good taste. Few of the critics who thus peremptorily condemn are capable of reading a line of the

original. The merit of poetry, however, consists so much in its literary execution, that a person, to pronounce upon it, should be intimately acquainted with the whole import of the idiom in which it is written. The style of poetry, indeed of all ornamental writing, whether prose or verse, in order to produce a proper effect, must be raised or relieved, as it were, upon the prevailing style of social intercourse. Even where this is highly figurative and impassioned, as with the Arabians, whose ordinary language is made up of metaphor, that of the poet must be still more so. Hence the tone of elegant literature varies so widely in different countries, even in those of Europe, which approach the nearest to each other in their principles of taste, that it would be found difficult, if not impossible, to effect a close translation of the most admired specimens of eloquence from the language of one nation into that of any other. A page of Boccaccio or Bembo, for instance, done into literal English, would have an air of intolerable artifice and verbiage. The choicest morsels of Massillon, Bossuet, or the rhetorical Thomas, would savor marvellously of bombast; and how could we in any degree keep pace with the magnificent march of the Castilian? Yet surely we are not to impugn the taste of all those nations, who attach much more importance and have paid (at least this is true of the French and Italian) much greater attention to the mere beauties of literary finish than English writers.

Whatever may be the sins of the Arabians on this head, they are certainly not those of negli-

gence. The Spanish Arabs, in particular, were noted for the purity and elegance of their idiom; insomuch that Casiri affects to determine the locality of an author by the superior refinement of his style. Their copious philological and rhetorical treatises, their arts of poetry, grammars, and rhyming dictionaries, show to what an excessive refinement they elaborated the art of composition. Academies, far more numerous than those of Italy, to which they subsequently served for a model, invited by their premiums frequent competitions in poetry and eloquence.* To poetry, indeed, especially of the tender kind, the Spanish Arabs seem to have been as indiscriminately addicted as the Italians in the time of Petrarch; and there was scarcely a doctor in church or state but at some time or other offered up his amorous incense on the altar of the muse.[47]

With all this poetic feeling, however, the Arabs never availed themselves of the treasures of Grecian eloquence which lay open before them. Not a poet or orator of any eminence in that language seems to have been translated by them.[48] The temperate tone of Attic composition appeared tame to the fervid conceptions of the East.

[47] Petrarch complains, in one of his letters from the country, that "jurisconsults and divines, nay his own valet, had taken to rhyming; and he was afraid the very cattle might begin to low in verse;" apud De Sade, Mémoires pour la Vie de Pétrarque, tom. iii. p. 243.

[48] Andres, Letteratura, part. 1, cap. 11.—Yet this popular assertion is contradicted by Reinesius, who states that both Homer and Pindar were translated into Arabic by the middle of the eighth century. See Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græca (Hamb. 1712–38), tom. xii. p. 753.

* [To every mosque was attached a school, and in this school instruction was free.—M.]

Neither did they venture upon what in Europe are considered the higher walks of the art, the drama and the epic.[49] None of their writers in prose or verse show much attention to the development or dissection of character. Their inspiration exhaled in lyrical effusions, in elegies, epigrams, and idyls. They sometimes, moreover, like the Italians, employed verse as the vehicle of instruction in the grave and recondite sciences. The general character of their poetry is bold, florid, impassioned, richly colored with imagery, sparkling with conceits and metaphors, and occasionally breathing a deep tone of moral sensibility, as in some of the plaintive effusions ascribed by Conde to the royal poets of Cordova. The compositions of the golden age of the Abassides, and of the preceding period, do not seem to have been infected with the taint of exaggeration, so offensive to a European, which distinguished the later productions in the decay of the empire.

Whatever be thought of the influence of the Arabic on European literature in general, there can be no reasonable doubt that it has been considerable on the Provençal and the Castilian. In the latter especially, so far from being confined to the vocabulary or to external forms of composition, it seems to have penetrated deep into its spirit,

[49] Sir William Jones, Traité sur la Poésie orientale, sec. 2.—Sismondi says that Sir W. Jones is mistaken in citing the history of Timour by Ebn Arabschah as an Arabic epic. (Littérature du Midi, tom. i. p. 57.) It is Sismondi who is mistaken, since the English critic states that the Arabs have no heroic poem, and that this poetical prose history is not accounted such even by the Arabs themselves.

and is plainly discernable in that affectation of stateliness and Oriental hyperbole which characterizes Spanish writers even at the present day; in the subtilties and conceits with which the ancient Castilian verse is so liberally bespangled; and in the relish for proverbs and prudential maxims, which is so general that it may be considered national.[50]

A decided effect has been produced on the

[50] It would require much more learning that I am fortified with, to enter into the merits of the question which has been raised respecting the probable influence of the Arabic on the literature of Europe. A. W. Schlegel, in a work of little bulk, but much value, in refuting with his usual vivacity the extravagant theory of Andres, has been led to conclusions of an opposite nature, which may be thought perhaps scarcely less extravagant. (Observations sur la Langue et la Littérature Provençales, p. 64.) It must indeed seem highly improbable that the Saracens, who, during the Middle Ages, were so far superior in science and literary culture to the Europeans, could have resided so long in immediate contact with them, and in those very countries indeed which gave birth to the most cultivated poetry of that period, without exerting some perceptible influence upon it. Be this as it may, its influence on the Castilian cannot reasonably be disputed. This has been briefly traced by Conde in an "Essay on Oriental Poetry," *Poesía oriental,* whose publication he anticipates in the Preface to his "History of the Spanish Arabs," but which still remains in manuscript. (The copy I have used is in the library of Mr. George Ticknor.) He professes in this work to discern in the earlier Castilian poetry, in the Cid, the Alexander, in Berceo's, the arch-priest of Hita's, and others of similar antiquity, most of the peculiarities and varieties of Arabian verse; the same cadences and number of syllables, the same intermixture of assonances and consonances, the double hemistich and prolonged repetition of the final rhyme. From the same source he derives much of the earlier rural minstrelsy of Spain, as well as the measures of its romances and seguidillas; and in the Preface to his History he has ventured on the bold assertion that the Castilian owes so much of its vocabulary to the Arabic that it may be almost accounted a dialect of the latter. Conde's criticisms, however, must be quoted with reserve. His habitual studies had given him such a keen relish for Oriental literature that he was in a manner *denaturalized* from his own.

romantic literature of Europe by those tales of fairy enchantment, so characteristic of Oriental genius, and in which it seems to have revelled with uncontrolled delight. These tales, which furnished the principal diversion of the East, were imported by the Saracens into Spain, and we find the monarchs of Cordova solacing their leisure hours with listening to their *rawis,* or novelists, who sang to them

"Of ladye-love and war, romance, and knightly worth." [51]

The same spirit, penetrating into France, stimulated the more sluggish inventions of the *trouvère,* and, at a later and more polished period, called forth the imperishable creations of the Italian muse.[52]

It is unfortunate for the Arabians that their literature should be locked up in a character and idiom so difficult of access to European scholars. Their wild, imaginative poetry, scarcely capable of transfusion into a foreign tongue, is made known to us only through the medium of bald prose translation; while their scientific treatises have been

[51] Byron's beautiful line may seem almost a version of Conde's Spanish text, "sucesos de armas y de amores con muy estraños lances y en elegante estilo."—Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. i. p. 457.

[52] Sismondi, in his Littérature du Midi (tom. i. pp. 267 et seq.), and more fully in his Républiques Italiennes (tom. xvi. pp. 448 et seq.), derives the jealousy of the sex, the ideas of honor, and the deadly spirit of revenge, which distinguished the southern nations of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from the Arabians. Whatever be thought of the jealousy of the sex, it might have been supposed that the principles of honor and the spirit of revenge might, without seeking further, find abundant precedent in the feudal habits and institutions of our European ancestors.

done into Latin with an inaccuracy which, to make use of a pun of Casiri's, merits the name of perversions rather than versions of the originals.[53] How obviously inadequate, then, are our means of forming any just estimate of their literary merits! It is unfortunate for them, moreover, that the Turks, the only nation which, from an identity of religion and government with the Arabs, as well as from its political consequence, would seem to represent them on the theatre of modern Europe, should be a race so degraded; one which, during the five centuries that it has been in possession of the finest climate and monuments of antiquity, has so seldom been quickened into a display of genius, and added so little of positive value to the literary treasures descended from its ancient masters. Yet this people, so sensual and sluggish, we are apt to confound in imagination with the sprightly, intellectual Arab. Both indeed have been subjected to the influence of the same degrading political and religious institutions, which on the Turks have produced the results naturally to have been expected; while the Arabians, on the other hand, exhibit the extraordinary phenomenon of a nation, under all these embarrassments, rising to a high degree of elegance and intellectual culture.

The empire, which once embraced more than half of the ancient world, has now shrunk within its original limits; and the Bedouin wanders over his native desert as free, and almost as uncivilized, as before the coming of his apostle. The language

[53] "Quas *perversiones* potius, quam *versiones* meritò dixeris." Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. i. p. 266.

which was once spoken along the southern shores of the Mediterranean and the whole extent of the Indian Ocean is broken up into a variety of discordant dialects. Darkness has again settled over those regions of Africa which were illumined by the light of learning. The elegant dialect of the Koran is studied as a dead language even in the birthplace of the prophet. Not a printing-press at this day is to be found throughout the whole Arabian Peninsula. Even in Spain, in Christian Spain, alas! the contrast is scarcely less degrading. A deathlike torpor has succeeded to her former intellectual activity. Her cities are emptied of the population with which they teemed in the days of the Saracens. Her climate is as fair, but her fields no longer bloom with the same rich and variegated husbandry. Her most interesting monuments are those constructed by the Arabs; and the traveller, as he wanders amid their desolate but beautiful ruins, ponders on the destinies of a people whose very existence seems now to have been almost as fanciful as the magical creations in one of their own fairy-tales.

Notwithstanding the history of the Arabs is so intimately connected with that of the Spaniards that it may be justly said to form the reverse side of it, and notwithstanding the amplitude of authentic documents in the Arabic tongue to be found in the public libraries, the Castilian writers, even the most eminent, until the latter half of the last century, with an insensibility which can be imputed to nothing but a spirit of religious bigotry, have been content to derive their narratives exclusively from national authorities. A fire which occurred in the Escurial in 1671 having consumed more than three-quarters of the magnificent collection of Eastern manuscripts which it contained, the Spanish government, taking some shame to itself, as it would appear, for its past supineness, caused a copious catalogue of the surviving volumes, to the number of

1850, to be compiled by the learned Casiri; and the result was his celebrated work, "Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis," which appeared in the years 1760–70, and which would reflect credit from the splendor of its typographical execution on any press of the present day. This work, although censured by some later Orientalists as hasty and superficial, must ever be highly valued as affording the only complete index to the rich repertory of Arabic manuscripts in the Escurial, and for the ample evidence which it exhibits of the science and mental culture of the Spanish Arabs. Several other native scholars, among whom Andres and Masdeu may be particularly noticed, have made extensive researches into the literary history of this people. Still their political history, so essential to a correct knowledge of the Spanish, was comparatively neglected, until Señor Conde, the late learned librarian of the Academy, who had given ample evidence of his Oriental learning in his version and illustrations of the Nubian Geographer, and a Dissertation on Arabic Coins published in the fifth volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History, compiled his work entitled "Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España." The first volume appeared in 1820. But unhappily the death of its author, occurring in the autumn of the same year, prevented the completion of his design. The two remaining volumes, however, were printed in the course of that and the following year from his own manuscripts; and, although their comparative meagreness and confused chronology betray the want of the same paternal hand, they contain much interesting information. The relation of the conquest of Granada, especially, with which the work concludes, exhibits some important particulars in a totally different point of view from that in which they had been presented by the principal Spanish historians.

The first volume which may be considered as having received the last touches of its author, embraces a circumstantial narrative of the great Saracen invasion, of the subsequent condition of Spain under the viceroys, and of the empire of the Omeyades; undoubtedly the most splendid portion of the Arabian annals, but the one, unluckily, which has been most copiously illustrated in the popular work compiled by Cardonne from the Oriental manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris. But, as this author has followed the Spanish and the Oriental authorities indiscriminately, no part of his book can be cited as a genuine Arabic version, except indeed the last sixty pages, comprising the conquest of Granada, which Cardonne professes in his Preface to have drawn exclusively from an Arabic manuscript. Conde, on the other hand, professes to have adhered to his originals with such scrupulous fidelity that the "European reader may feel that he is perusing an Arabian author;" and certainly very strong internal evidence is afforded of the truth of this assertion, in the peculiar national and religious spirit which per-

vades the work, and in a certain florid gasconade of style, common with the Oriental writers. It is this fidelity that constitutes the peculiar value of Conde's narrative. It is the first time that the Arabians, at least those of Spain,—the part of the nation which reached the highest degree of refinement,—have been allowed to speak for themselves. The history, or rather tissues of histories, embodied in the translation, is certainly conceived in no very philosophical spirit, and contains, as might be expected from an Asiatic pen, little for the edification of a European reader on subjects of policy and government. The narrative is, moreover, encumbered with frivolous details and a barren muster-roll of names and titles, which would better become a genealogical table than a history. But, with every deduction, it must be allowed to exhibit a sufficiently clear view of the intricate conflicting relations of the petty principalities which swarmed over the Peninsula, and to furnish abundant evidence of a wide-spread intellectual improvement amid all the horrors of anarchy and a ferocious despotism. The work has already been translated, or rather paraphrased, into French. The necessity of an English version will doubtless be in a great degree superseded by the History of the Spanish Arabs, preparing for the Cabinet Cyclopædia, by Mr. Southey,—a writer with whom few Castilian scholars will be willing to compete, even on their own ground, and who is, happily, not exposed to the national or religious prejudices which can interfere with his rendering perfect justice to his subject.

[Conde's reputation has been vehemently assailed by a learned Dutch scholar, R. P. A. Dozy, who describes him as a mere pretender in Arabic lore, "knowing little of the language beyond the characters in which it is written, supplying the lack of the most elementary knowledge by an extremely fertile imagination and an unequalled impudence, forging dates by the hundred, and inventing facts by the thousand, while pretending to give a faithful translation of Arabic texts." The work in which these charges appear (Recherches sur l'Histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne pendant le moyen Age) is chiefly confined to the eleventh century, and was left unfinished at the author's death. The sufficiency of his proofs, so far as they extend, must be left to the judgment of competent Arabic scholars.—K.]

[For a sympathetic account of the influence the Arabians of Spain exerted upon mediæval and modern Europe one may well consult Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," especially vol. ii. chap. ii. Camara, a Spanish priest of much ability and learning, has attempted to prove that Dr. Draper's statements are incorrect. Not a few modern Spaniards hold the same views that Father Camara put forward in his "Contestacion," but inasmuch

as the statements of these gentlemen are for the most part mere denials unsupported by evidence, not much historical value can be attached to them. By far the most important work upon the subject is the one to which reference is made in the preface to the third English edition of Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella,"—namely, Pascual de Guyangos' "History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain." "A work which, from its thorough investigation of original sources and its fine spirit of criticism, must supply what has so long been felt to be a desideratum with the student, the means of forming a perfect acquaintance with the Arabic portion of the Peninsular Annals."—M.]

MANCHA
ESTREMADURA
MURCIA
R. Segura
Guadalquivir River
CORDOVA
Baena
ANDALUSIA
Ecija
Lucena
Moclin
Baza
SEVILLE
Guadalquivir Riv.
Marchena
River Xenil
GRANADA
Guadix
Santa Fe
Antequera
Loja
Alhama
Illora
Malaga
Almeria
Arcos
Xeres
Zahara
Ronda
GRANADA
CADIZ
Medina Sidonia
Gibraltar
Straits of Gibraltar
AFRICA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Map for the WAR of GRANADA.

CHAPTER IX

WAR OF GRANADA—SURPRISE OF ZAHARA—CAPTURE OF ALHAMA

1481–1482

Zahara surprised by the Moors—Marquis of Cadiz—His Expedition against Alhama—Valor of the Citizens—Desperate Struggle—Fall of Alhama—Consternation of the Moors—Vigorous Measures of the Queen

NO sooner had Ferdinand and Isabella restored internal tranquillity to their dominions, and made the strength effective which had been acquired by their union under one government, than they turned their eyes to those fair regions of the Peninsula over which the Moslem crescent had reigned triumphant for nearly eight centuries. Fortunately, an act of aggression on the part of the Moors furnished a pretext for entering on their plan of conquest, at the moment when it was ripe for execution. Aben Ismail, who had ruled in Granada during the latter part of John the Second's reign and the commencement of Henry the Fourth's had been partly indebted for his throne to the former monarch; and sentiments of gratitude, combined with a naturally amiable disposition, had led him to foster as amicable relations with the Christian princes as the jealousy of two nations, that might be considered the natural enemies of each other, would permit; so that, notwithstanding an occasional border foray, or the capture of a

frontier fortress, such a correspondence was maintained between the two kingdoms that the nobles of Castile frequently resorted to the court of Granada, where, forgetting their ancient feuds, they mingled with the Moorish cavaliers in the generous pastimes of chivalry.

Muley Abul Hacen, who succeeded his father in 1466, was of a very different temperament. His fiery character prompted him, when very young, to violate the truce by an unprovoked inroad into Andalusia; and, although after his accession domestic troubles occupied him too closely to allow leisure for foreign war, he still cherished in secret the same feelings of animosity against the Christians. When, in 1476, the Spanish sovereigns required, as the condition of a renewal of the truce which he solicited, the payment of the annual tribute imposed on his predecessors, he proudly replied that "the mints of Granada coined no longer gold, but steel." His subsequent conduct did not belie the spirit of this Spartan answer.[1]

At length, towards the close of the year 1481, the storm which had been so long gathering burst upon Zahara, a small fortified town on the frontier of Andalusia, crowning a lofty eminence, washed at its base by the river Guadalete, which from its position seemed almost inaccessible. The garrison, trusting to these natural defences, suffered itself to be surprised, on the night of the 26th of December, by the Moorish monarch, who, scaling the walls under favor of a furious tempest, which pre-

[1] Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 467–469.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 32, 34.

vented his approach from being readily heard, put to the sword such of the guard as offered resistance, and swept away the whole population of the place, men, women, and children, into slavery in Granada.

The intelligence of this disaster caused deep mortification to the Spanish sovereigns, especially to Ferdinand, by whose grandfather Zahara had been recovered from the Moors. Measures were accordingly taken for strengthening the whole line of frontier, and the utmost vigilance was exerted to detect some vulnerable point of the enemy, on which retaliation might be successfully inflicted. Neither were the tidings of their own successes welcomed by the people of Granada with the joy that might have been expected. The prognostics, it was said, afforded by the appearance of the heavens, boded no good. More sure prognostics were afforded in the judgments of thinking men, who deprecated the temerity of awakening the wrath of a vindictive and powerful enemy. "Woe is me!" exclaimed an ancient Alfaki, on quitting the hall of audience. "The ruins of Zahara will fall on our own heads; the days of the Moslem empire in Spain are now numbered!" [2]

[2] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 51.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 180.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 171.—Marmol. Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos (Madrid, 1797), lib. 1, cap. 12.—Lebrija states that the revenues of Granada, at the commencement of this war, amounted to a million of gold ducats, and that it kept in pay 7000 horsemen on its peace establishment, and could send forth 21,000 warriors from its gates. The last of these estimates would not seem to be exaggerated. Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 1.

It was not long before the desired opportunity for retaliation presented itself to the Spaniards. One Juan de Ortega, a captain of *escaladores,* or scalers, so denominated from the peculiar service in which they were employed in besieging cities, who had acquired some reputation under John the Second in the wars of Roussillon, reported to Diego de Merlo, assistant of Seville, that the fortress of Alhama, situated in the heart of the Moorish territories, was so negligently guarded that it might be easily carried by an enemy who had skill enough to approach it. The fortress, as well as the city of the same name, which it commanded, was built, like many others in that turbulent period, along the crest of a rocky eminence, encompassed by a river at its base, and, from its natural advantages, might be deemed impregnable. This strength of position, by rendering all other precautions apparently superfluous, lulled its defenders into a security like that which had proved so fatal to Zahara. Alhama, as this Arabic name implies, was famous for its baths, whose annual rents are said to have amounted to five hundred thousand ducats. The monarchs of Granada, indulging the taste common to the people of the East, used to frequent this place, with their court, to refresh themselves with its delicious waters, so that Alhama became embellished with all the magnificence of a royal residence. The place was still further enriched by its being the *dépôt* of the public taxes on land, which constituted a principal branch of the revenue, and by its various manufactures of cloth, for which its inhabitants

were celebrated throughout the kingdom of Granada.[3]

Diego de Merlo, although struck with the advantages of this conquest, was not insensible to the difficulties with which it would be attended; since Alhama was sheltered under the very wings of Granada, from which it lay scarcely eight leagues distant, and could be reached only by traversing the most populous portion of the Moorish territory, or by surmounting a precipitous *sierra,* or chain of mountains, which screened it on the north. Without delay, however, he communicated the information which he had received to Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marquis of Cadiz, as the person best fitted by his capacity and courage for such an enterprise.

This nobleman, who had succeeded his father, the count of Arcos, in 1469, as head of the great house of Ponce de Leon, was at this period about thirty-nine years of age. Although a younger and illegitimate son, he had been preferred to the succession in consequence of the extraordinary promise which his early youth exhibited. When scarcely seventeen years old, he achieved a victory over the Moors, accompanied with a signal display of personal prowess.[4] Later

[3] Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. pp. 247, 248.—El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, p. 222, nota.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 181.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

[4] Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, pp. 349, 362.—This occurred in the fight of Madroño, when Don Rodrigo, stooping to adjust his buckler, which had been unlaced, was suddenly surrounded by a party of Moors. He snatched a sling from one of them, and made such brisk use of it that, after disabling several, he succeeded in putting them

in life, he formed a connection with the daughter of the marquis of Villena, the factious minister of Henry the Fourth, through whose influence he was raised to the dignity of marquis of Cadiz. This alliance attached him to the fortunes of Henry, in his disputes with his brother Alfonso, and subsequently with Isabella, on whose accession, of course, Don Rodrigo looked with no friendly eye. He did not, however, engage in any overt act of resistance, but occupied himself with prosecuting an hereditary feud which he had revived with the duke of Medina Sidonia, the head of the Guzmans, a family which from ancient times had divided with his own the great interests of Andalusia. The pertinacity with which this feud was conducted, and the desolation which it carried not only into Seville, but into every quarter of the province, have been noticed in the preceding pages. The vigorous administration of Isabella repressed these disorders, and, after abridging the overgrown power of the two nobles, effected an apparent (it was only apparent) reconciliation between them. The fiery spirit of the marquis of Cadiz, no longer allowed to escape in domestic

to flight; for which feat, says Zuñiga, the king complimented him with the title of "the youthful David."

Don Juan,* count of Arcos, had no children born in wedlock, but a numerous progeny by his concubines. Among these latter was Doña Leonora Nuñez de Prado, the mother of Don Rodrigo. The brilliant and attractive qualities of this youth so far won the affections of his father that the latter obtained the royal sanction (a circumstance not infrequent in an age when the laws of descent were very unsettled) to bequeath him his titles and estates, to the prejudice of more legitimate heirs.

* [See note on "Barraganeria," vol. i. p. 47 ante.—M.]

broil, urged him to seek distinction in more honorable warfare; and at this moment he lay in has castle at Arcos, looking with a watchful eye over the borders, and waiting, like a lion in ambush, the moment when he could spring upon his victim.

Without hesitation, therefore, he assumed the enterprise proposed by Diego de Merlo, imparting his purpose to Don Pedro Henriquez, *adelantado* of Andalusia, a relative of Ferdinand, and to the alcaydes of two or three neighboring fortresses. With the assistance of these friends he assembled a force, which, including those who marched under the banner of Seville, amounted to two thousand five hundred horse and three thousand foot. His own town of Marchena was appointed as the place of rendezvous. The proposed route lay by the way of Antequera, across the wild sierras of Alzerifa. The mountain-passes, sufficiently difficult at a season when their numerous ravines were choked up by the winter torrents, were rendered still more formidable by being traversed in the darkness of night; for the party, in order to conceal their movements, lay by during the day. Leaving their baggage on the banks of the Yeguas, that they might move forward with greater celerity, the whole body at length arrived, after a rapid and most painful march, on the third night from their departure, in a deep valley about half a league from Alhama. Here the marquis first revealed the real object of the expedition to his soldiers, who, little dreaming of anything beyond a mere border inroad, were transported with

joy at the prospect of the rich booty so nearly within their grasp.[5]

The next morning, being the 28th of February, a small party was detached, about two hours before dawn, under the command of John de Ortega, for the purpose of scaling the citadel, while the main body moved forward more leisurely under the marquis of Cadiz, in order to support them. The night was dark and tempestuous, a circumstance which favored their approach in the same manner as with the Moors at Zahara. After ascending the rocky heights which were crowned by the citadel, the ladders were silently placed against the walls, and Ortega, followed by about thirty others, succeeded in gaining the battlements unobserved. A sentinel, who was found sleeping on his post, they at once despatched, and, proceeding cautiously forward to the guard-room, put the whole of the little garrison to the sword, after the short and ineffectual resistance that could be opposed by men suddenly roused from slumber. The city in the mean time was alarmed, but it was too late; the citadel was taken; and the outer gates, which opened into the country, being thrown open, the marquis of Cadiz entered, with trumpet sounding and banner flying, at the head of his army, and took possession of the fortress.[6]

[5] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 52.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 171.—Pulgar computes the marquis's army at 3000 horse and 4000 foot. Reyes Católicos, p. 181.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34.

[6] Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 2.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1482.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 52.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 315.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 252, 253.

After allowing the refreshment necessary to the exhausted spirits of his soldiers, the marquis resolved to sally forth at once upon the town, before its inhabitants could muster in sufficient force to oppose him. But the citizens of Alhama, showing a resolution rather to have been expected from men trained in a camp than from peaceful burghers of a manufacturing town, had sprung to arms at the first alarm, and, gathering in the narrow street on which the portal of the castle opened, so completely commanded it with their arquebuses and crossbows, that the Spaniards, after an ineffectual attempt to force a passage, were compelled to recoil upon their defences, amid showers of bolts and balls, which occasioned the loss, among others, of two of their principal alcaydes.

A council of war was then called, in which it was even advised by some that the fortress, after having been dismantled, should be abandoned as incapable of defence against the citizens on the one hand, and the succors which might be expected speedily to arrive from Granada on the other. But this counsel was rejected with indignation by the marquis of Cadiz, whose fiery spirit rose with the occasion; indeed, it was not very palatable to most of his followers, whose cupidity was more than ever inflamed by the sight of the rich spoil which, after so many fatigues, now lay at their feet. It was accordingly resolved to demolish part of the fortifications which looked towards the town, and at all hazards to force a passage into it. This resolution was at once put into execution; and the

marquis, throwing himself into the breach thus made, at the head of his men-at-arms, and shouting his war-cry of "St. James and the Virgin," precipitated himself into the thickest of the enemy. Others of the Spaniards, running along the outworks contiguous to the buildings of the city, leaped into the street, and joined their companions there, while others again sallied from the gates, now opened for the second time.[7]

The Moors, unshaken by the fury of this assault, received the assailants with brisk and well-directed volleys of shot and arrows; while the women and children, thronging the roofs and balconies of the houses, discharged on their heads boiling oil, pitch, and missiles of every description. But the weapons of the Moors glanced comparatively harmless from the mailed armor of the Spaniards, while their own bodies, loosely arrayed in such habiliments as they could throw over them in the confusion of the night, presented a fatal mark to their enemies. Still they continued to maintain a stout resistance, checking the progress of the Spaniards by barricades of timber hastily thrown across the streets; and, as their intrenchments were forced one after another, they disputed every inch of ground with the desperation of men who fought for life, fortune, liberty,—all that was most dear to them. The contest hardly slackened till the close of day, while the kennels literally ran with blood, and every avenue was choked up with bodies of the slain. At length, however, Spanish

[7] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., ubi supra.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 34.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 172.

MORROW OF A VICTORY AT THE ALHAMBRA

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[7] Bernaldes, Reyes Catolicos, MS., ubi supra.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 74.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 172.

Goupil & Cie Paris

valor proved triumphant in every quarter, except where a small and desperate remnant of the Moors, having gathered their wives and children around them, retreated as a last resort into a large mosque near the walls of the city, from which they kept up a galling fire on the close ranks of the Christians. The latter, after enduring some loss, succeeded in sheltering themselves so effectually under a roof or canopy constructed of their own shields, in the manner practised in war previous to the exclusive use of fire-arms, that they were enabled to approach so near the mosque as to set fire to its doors; when its tenants, menaced with suffocation, made a desperate sally, in which many perished, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. The prisoners thus made were all massacred on the spot, without distinction of sex or age, according to the Saracen accounts. But the Castilian writers make no mention of this; and, as the appetites of the Spaniards were not yet stimulated by that love of carnage which they afterwards displayed in their American wars, and which was repugnant to the chivalrous spirit with which their contests with the Moslems were usually conducted, we may be justified in regarding it as an invention of the enemy.[8]

Alhama was now delivered up to the sack of the soldiery, and rich indeed was the booty which fell into their hands,—gold and silver plate, pearls, jewels, fine silks and cloths, curious and costly

[8] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, ubi supra.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 182, 183.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 545, 546.

furniture, and all the various appurtenances of a thriving, luxurious city. In addition to this, the magazines were found well stored with the more substantial, and at the present juncture more serviceable, supplies of grain, oil, and other provisions. Nearly a quarter of the population is said to have perished in the various conflicts of the day, and the remainder, according to the usage of the time, became the prize of the victors. A considerable number of Christian captives, who were found immured in the public prisons, were restored to freedom, and swelled the general jubilee with their grateful acclamations. The contemporary Castilian chroniclers record also, with no less satisfaction, the detection of a Christian renegade, notorious for his depredations on his countrymen, whose misdeeds the marquis of Cadiz requited by causing him to be hung up over the battlements of the castle, in the face of the whole city. Thus fell the ancient city of Alhama, the first conquest, and achieved with a gallantry and daring unsurpassed by any other during this memorable war.[9]

The report of this disaster fell like the knell of their own doom on the ears of the inhabitants of Granada. It seemed as if the hand of Providence itself must have been stretched forth to smite the stately city, which, reposing as it were under the shadow of their own walls, and in the bosom of a peaceful and populous country, was thus suddenly laid low in blood and ashes. Men now read the

[9] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 52.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 254.

fulfilment of the disastrous omens and predictions which ushered in the capture of Zahara. The melancholy *romance* or ballad, with the burden of *Ay de mi Alhama!* "Woe is me, Alhama!" composed probably by some one of the nation not long after this event, shows how deep was the dejection which settled on the spirits of the people. The old king, Abul Hacen, however, far from resigning himself to useless lamentation, sought to retrieve his loss by the most vigorous measures. A body of a thousand horse was sent forward to reconnoitre the city, while he prepared to follow with as powerful levies as he could enforce of the militia of Granada.[10]

[10] "Passeavase el Rey Moro
Por la ciudad de Granada,
Desde las puertas de Elvira
Hasta las de Bivarambla.
Ay de mi Alhama!

"Cartas le fueron venidas
Que Alhama era ganada.
Las cartas echó en el fuego
Y al mensagero matava.
Ay de mi Alhama!

"Hombres niños y mugeres,
Lloran tan grande perdida.
Lloravan todas las damas
Quantas en Granada avia.
Ay de mi Alhama!

"Por las calles y ventanas
Mucho luto parecia;
Llora el Rey como fembra,
Qu' es mucho lo que perdia.
Ay de mi Alhama!"

The *romance*, according to Hita (not the best voucher for a fact), caused such general lamentation that it was not allowed to be sung by the Moors after the conquest. (Guerras civiles de Granada, tom. i. p. 350.) Lord Byron, as the reader recollects, has done this ballad into English. The version has the merit of fidelity. It is not his fault if his Muse appears to little advantage in the plebeian dress of the Moorish minstrel.

The intelligence of the conquest of Alhama diffused general satisfaction throughout Castile, and was especially grateful to the sovereigns, who welcomed it as an auspicious omen of the ultimate success of their designs upon the Moors. They were attending mass in their royal palace of Medina del Campo, when they received despatches from the marquis of Cadiz, informing them of the issue of his enterprise. "During all the while he sat at dinner," says a precise chronicler of the period, "the prudent Ferdinand was revolving in his mind the course best to be adopted." He reflected that the Castilians would soon be beleagured by an overwhelming force from Granada, and he determined at all hazards to support them. He accordingly gave orders to make instant preparation for departure, but first accompanied the queen, attended by a solemn procession of the court and clergy, to the cathedral church of St. James, where Te Deum was chanted, and a humble thanksgiving offered up to the Lord of hosts for the success with which he had crowned their arms. Towards evening, the king set forward on his journey to the south, escorted by such nobles and cavaliers as were in attendance on his person, leaving the queen to follow more leisurely, after having provided reinforcements and supplies requisite for the prosecution of the war.[11]

On the 5th of March, the king of Granada appeared before the walls of Alhama, with an

[11] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 172.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1482.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 545, 546.

army which amounted to three thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. The first object which encountered his eyes was the mangled remains of his unfortunate subjects, which the Christians, who would have been scandalized by an attempt to give them the rites of sepulture, had from dread of infection thrown over the walls, where they now lay half devoured by birds of prey and the ravenous dogs of the city. The Moslem troops, transported with horror and indignation at this hideous spectacle, called loudly to be led to the attack. They had marched from Granada with so much precipitation that they were wholly unprovided with artillery, in the use of which they were expert for that period, and which was now the more necessary, as the Spaniards had diligently employed the few days which intervened since their occupation of the place in repairing the breaches in the fortifications and in putting them in a posture of defence. But the Moorish ranks were filled with the flower of their chivalry; and their immense superiority of numbers enabled them to make their attacks simultaneously on the most distant quarters of the town, with such unintermitted vivacity that the little garrison, scarcely allowed a moment for repose, was wellnigh exhausted with fatigue.[12]

At length, however, Abul Hacen, after the loss of more than two thousand of his bravest troops in these precipitate assaults, became convinced of

[12] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 52.—Bernaldez swells the Moslem army to 5500 horse and 80,000 foot, but I have preferred the more moderate and probable estimate of the Arabic authors. Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 34.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.

the impracticability of forcing a position whose natural strength was so ably seconded by the valor of its defenders, and he determined to reduce the place by the more tardy but certain method of blockade. In this he was favored by one or two circumstances. The town, having but a single well within its walls, was almost wholly indebted for its supplies of water to the river which flowed at its base. The Moors, by dint of great labor, succeeded in diverting the stream so effectually that the only communication with it which remained open to the besieged was by a subterraneous gallery or mine, that had probably been contrived with reference to some such emergency by the original inhabitants. The mouth of this passage was commanded in such a manner by the Moorish archers that no egress could be obtained without a regular skirmish, so that every drop of water might be said to be purchased with the blood of Christians, who, "if they had not possessed the courage of Spaniards," says a Castilian writer, "would have been reduced to the last extremity." In addition to this calamity, the garrison began to be menaced with scarcity of provisions, owing to the improvident waste of the soldiers, who supposed that the city, after being plundered, was to be razed to the ground and abandoned.[13]

At this crisis they received the unwelcome tidings of the failure of an expedition destined for their relief by Alonso de Aguilar. This cavalier, the chief of an illustrious house since rendered

[13] Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 18, cap. 23.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 183, 184.

immortal by the renown of his younger brother, Gonsalvo de Cordova, had assembled a considerable body of troops, on learning the capture of Alhama, for the purpose of supporting his friend and companion-in-arms the marquis of Cadiz. On reaching the shores of the Yeguas, he received, for the first time, advices of the formidable host which lay between him and the city, rendering hopeless any attempt to penetrate into the latter with his inadequate force. Contenting himself, therefore, with recovering the baggage which the marquis's army in its rapid march, as has been already noticed, had left on the banks of the river, he returned to Antequera.[14]

Under these depressing circumstances, the indomitable spirit of the marquis of Cadiz seemed to infuse itself into the hearts of his soldiers. He was ever in the front of danger, and shared the privations of the meanest of his followers; encouraging them to rely with undoubting confidence on the sympathies which their cause must awaken in the breasts of their countrymen. The event proved that he did not miscalculate. Soon after the occupation of Alhama, the marquis, foreseeing the difficulties of his situation, had despatched missives requesting the support of the principal lords and cities of Andalusia. In this summons he had omitted the duke of Medina Sidonia, as one who had good reason to take umbrage at being excluded from a share in the original enterprise. Henrique de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia, possessed a degree of power more considerable

[14] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 52.

than any other chieftain in the south. His yearly rents amounted to nearly sixty thousand ducats, and he could bring into the field, it was said, from his own resources an army little inferior to what might be raised by a sovereign prince. He had succeeded to his inheritance in 1468, and had very early given his support to the pretensions of Isabella. Notwithstanding his deadly feud with the marquis of Cadiz, he had the generosity, on the breaking out of the present war, to march to the relief of the marchioness when beleaguered, during her husband's absence, by a party of Moors from Ronda, in her own castle of Arcos. He now showed a similar alacrity in sacrificing all personal jealousy at the call of patriotism.[15]

No sooner did he learn the perilous condition of his countrymen in Alhama than he mustered the whole array of his household troops and retainers, which when combined with those of the marquis de Villena, of the count de Cabra, and those from Seville, in which city the family of the Guzmans had long exercised a sort of hereditary influence, swelled to the number of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot. The duke of Medina Sidonia, putting himself at the head of this powerful body, set forward without delay on his expedition.

When King Ferdinand in his progress to the south had reached the little town of Adamuz, about five leagues from Cordova, he was informed of the advance of the Andalusian chivalry, and

[15] Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 360.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 24, 172.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, lib. 1, cap. 3.

instantly sent instructions to the duke to delay his march, as he intended to come in person and assume the command. But the latter, returning a respectful apology for his disobedience, represented to his master the extremities to which the besieged were already reduced, and, without waiting for a reply, pushed on with the utmost vigor for Alhama. The Moorish monarch, alarmed at the approach of so powerful a reinforcement, saw himself in danger of being hemmed in between the garrison on the one side and these new enemies on the other. Without awaiting their appearance on the crest of the eminence which separated him from them, he hastily broke up his encampment, on the 29th of March, after a siege of more than three weeks, and retreated on his capital.[16]

The garrison of Alhama viewed with astonishment the sudden departure of their enemies; but their wonder was converted into joy when they beheld the bright arms and banners of their countrymen gleaming along the declivities of the mountains. They rushed out with tumultuous transport to receive them and pour forth their grateful acknowledgments, while the two commanders, embracing each other in the presence of their united armies, pledged themselves to a mutual oblivion of all past grievances; thus affording to the nation the best possible earnest of future successes, in the voluntary extinction of a feud which had desolated it for so many generations.

[16] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 183, 184.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 53.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. vii. p. 572.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, pp. 392, 393.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 257.

Notwithstanding the kindly feelings excited between the two armies, a dispute had wellnigh arisen respecting the division of the spoil, in which the duke's army claimed a share, as having contributed to secure the conquest which their more fortunate countrymen had effected. But these discontents were appeased, though with some difficulty, by their noble leader, who besought his men not to tarnish the laurels already won, by mingling a sordid avarice with the generous motives which had prompted them to the expedition. After the necessary time devoted to repose and refreshment, the combined armies proceeded to evacuate Alhama, and, having left in garrison Don Diego Merlo, with a corps of troops of the hermandad, returned into their own territories.[17]

King Ferdinand, after receiving the reply of the duke of Medina Sidonia, had pressed forward his march by the way of Cordova, as far as Lucena, with the intention of throwing himself at all hazards into Alhama. He was, not without much difficulty, dissuaded from this by his nobles, who represented the temerity of the enterprise, and its incompetency to any good result, even should he succeed, with the small force of which he was master. On receiving intelligence that the siege was raised, he returned to Cordova, where he was joined by the queen towards the latter part of April. Isabella had been employed in making vigorous preparation for carrying on the war, by enforcing the requisite supplies, and summoning

[17] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 183–186.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

the crown vassals, and the principal nobility of the north, to hold themselves in readiness to join the royal standard in Andalusia. After this, she proceeded by rapid stages to Cordova, notwithstanding the state of pregnancy in which she was then far advanced.

Here the sovereigns received the unwelcome information that the king of Granada, on the retreat of the Spaniards, had again sat down before Alhama; having brought with him artillery, from the want of which he had suffered so much in the preceding siege. This news struck a damp into the hearts of the Castilians, many of whom recommended the total evacuation of a place "which," they said, "was so near the capital that it must be perpetually exposed to sudden and dangerous assaults; while, from the difficulty of reaching it, it would cost the Castilians an incalculable waste of blood and treasure in its defence. It was experience of these evils which had led to its abandonment in former days, when it had been recovered by the Spanish arms from the Saracens."

Isabella was far from being shaken by these arguments. "Glory," she said, "was not to be won without danger. The present war was one of peculiar difficulties and danger, and these had been well calculated before entering upon it. The strong and central position of Alhama made it of the last importance, since it might be regarded as the key of the enemy's country. This was the first blow struck during the war, and honor and policy alike forbade them to adopt a measure which could not fail to damp the ardor of the nation."

This opinion of the queen, thus decisively expressed, determined the question, and kindled a spark of her own enthusiasm in the breasts of the most desponding.[18]

It was settled that the king should march to the relief of the besieged, taking with him the most ample supplies of forage and provisions, at the head of a force strong enough to compel the retreat of the Moorish monarch. This was effected without delay; and, Abul Hacen once more breaking up his camp on the rumor of Ferdinand's approach, the latter took possession of the city, without opposition, on the 14th of May. The king was attended by a splendid train of his prelates and principal nobility; and he prepared with their aid to dedicate his new conquest to the service of the cross, with all the formalities of the Romish church. After the ceremony of purification, the three principal mosques of the city were consecrated by the cardinal of Spain, as temples of Christian worship. Bells, crosses, a sumptuous service of plate, and other sacred utensils, were liberally furnished by the queen; and the principal church of Santa Maria de la Encarnacion long exhibited a covering of the altar, richly embroidered by her own hands. Isabella lost no opportunity of manifesting that she had entered into the

[18] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 53, 54.—Pulgar states that Ferdinand took the more southern route of Antequera, where he received the tidings of the Moorish king's retreat. The discrepancy is of no great consequence; but as Bernaldez, whom I have followed, lived in Andalusia, the theatre of action, he may be supposed to have had more accurate means of information.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 187, 188.

war less from motives of ambition than of zeal for the exaltation of the true faith. After the completion of these ceremonies, Ferdinand, having strengthened the garrison with new recruits under the command of Portocarrero, lord of Palma, and victualled it with three months' provisions, prepared for a foray into the vega of Granada. This he executed in the true spirit of that merciless warfare so repugnant to the more civilized usage of later times, not only by sweeping away the green, unripened crops, but by cutting down the trees and eradicating the vines, and then, without so much as having broken a lance in the expedition, returned in triumph to Cordova.[19]

Isabella in the mean while was engaged in active measures for prosecuting the war. She issued orders to the various cities of Castile and Leon, as far as the borders of Biscay and Guipuscoa, prescribing the *repartimiento,* or subsidy of provisions, and the quota of troops, to be furnished by each district respectively, together with an adequate supply of ammunition and artillery. The whole were to be in readiness before Loja by the

[19] Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 54, 55.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, lib. 1, cap. 6.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 34.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, pp. 180, 181.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.—During this second siege, a body of Moorish knights, to the number of forty, succeeded in scaling the walls of the city in the night, and had nearly reached the gates with the intention of throwing them open to their countrymen, when they were overpowered, after a desperate resistance, by the Christians, who acquired a rich booty, as many of the captives were persons of rank. There is considerable variation in the authorities in regard to the date of Ferdinand's occupation of Alhama. I have been guided, as before, by Bernaldez.

1st of July; when Ferdinand was to take the field in person at the head of his chivalry, and besiege that strong post. As advices were received that the Moors of Granada were making efforts to obtain the co-operation of their African brethren in support of the Mahometan empire in Spain, the queen caused a fleet to be manned under the command of her two best admirals, with instructions to sweep the Mediterranean as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and thus effectually cut off all communication with the Barbary coast.[20]

[20] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 188, 189.

CHAPTER X

WAR OF GRANADA—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT ON LOJA—DEFEAT IN THE AXARQUIA

1482–1483

Unsuccessful Attempt on Loja—Revolution in Granada—Expedition to the Axarquia—Military Array—Moorish Preparations—Bloody Conflict among the Mountains—The Spaniards force a Passage—The Marquis of Cadiz escapes

LOJA stands not many leagues from Alhama, on the banks of the Xenil, which rolls its clear current through a valley luxuriant with vineyards and olive-gardens; but the city is deeply intrenched among hills of so rugged an aspect that it has been led not inappropriately to assume as the motto on its arms, "A flower among thorns." Under the Moors, it was defended by a strong fortress, while the Xenil, circumscribing it like a deep moat upon the south, formed an excellent protection against the approaches of a besieging army; since the river was fordable only in one place, and traversed by a single bridge, which might be easily commanded from the city. In addition to these advantages, the king of Granada, taking warning from the fate of Alhama, had strengthened its garrison with three thousand of his choicest troops, under the command of a skilful and experienced warrior, named Ali Atar.[1]

[1] Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. pp. 242, 243.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 317.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 261.

In the mean while, the efforts of the Spanish sovereigns to procure supplies adequate to the undertaking against Loja had not been crowned with success. The cities and districts, on which the requisitions had been made, had discovered the tardiness usual in such unwieldy bodies; and their interest, moreover, was considerably impaired by their distance from the theatre of action. Ferdinand on mustering his army, towards the latter part of June, found that it did not exceed four thousand horse and twelve thousand, or indeed, according to some accounts, eight thousand foot; most of them raw militia, who, poorly provided with military stores and artillery, formed a force obviously inadequate to the magnitude of his enterprise. Some of his counsellors would have persuaded him, from these considerations, to turn his arms against some weaker and more assailable point than Loja. But Ferdinand burned with a desire for distinction in the new war, and suffered his ardor for once to get the better of his prudence. The distrust felt by the leaders seems to have infected the lower ranks, who drew the most unfavorable prognostics from the dejected mien of those who bore the royal standard to the cathedral of Cordova in order to receive the benediction of the church before entering on the expedition.[2]

Ferdinand, crossing the Xenil at Ecija, arrived again on its banks before Loja on the 1st of July. The army encamped among the hills, whose deep

[2] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 58.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 249, 250.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 259, 260.

ravines obstructed communication between its different quarters; while the level plains below were intersected by numerous canals, equally unfavorable to the manœuvres of the men-at-arms. The duke of Villa Hermosa, the king's brother, and captain-general of the hermandad, an officer of large experience, would have persuaded Ferdinand to attempt, by throwing bridges across the river lower down the stream, to approach the city on the other side. But his counsel was overruled by the Castilian officers, to whom the location of the camp had been intrusted, and who neglected, according to Zurita, to advise with the Andalusian chiefs, although far better instructed than themselves in Moorish warfare.[3]

A large detachment of the army was ordered to occupy a lofty eminence, at some distance, called the Heights of Albohacen, and to fortify it with such few pieces of ordnance as they had, with the view of annoying the city. This commission was intrusted to the marquises of Cadiz and Villena, and the grand master of Calatrava; which last nobleman had brought to the field about four hundred horse and a large body of infantry from the places belonging to his order in Andalusia. Before the intrenchment could be fully completed, Ali Atar, discerning the importance of this commanding station, made a sortie from the town, for the purpose of dislodging his enemies. The latter poured out from their works to encounter him; but the Moslem general, scarcely waiting to

[3] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 173.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 187.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 316, 317.

receive the shock, wheeled his squadrons round, and began a precipitate retreat. The Spaniards eagerly pursued; but, when they had been drawn to a sufficient distance from the redoubt, a party of Moorish *ginetes,* or light cavalry, who had crossed the river unobserved during the night and lain in ambush, after the wily fashion of Arabian tactics, darted from their place of concealment, and, galloping into the deserted camp, plundered it of its contents, including the lombards, or small pieces of artillery, with which it was garnished. The Castilians, too late perceiving their error, halted from the pursuit, and returned with as much speed as possible to the defence of their camp. Ali Atar, turning also, hung close on their rear, so that when the Christians arrived at the summit of the hill they found themselves hemmed in between the two divisions of the Moorish army. A brisk action now ensued, and lasted nearly an hour; when the advance of reinforcements from the main body of the Spanish army, which had been delayed by distance and impediments on the road, compelled the Moors to a prompt but orderly retreat into their own city. The Christians sustained a heavy loss, particularly in the death of Rodrigo Tellez Giron, grand master of Calatrava. He was hit by two arrows, one of which, penetrating the joints of his harness beneath his sword-arm as he was in the act of raising it, inflicted on him a mortal wound, of which he expired in a few hours, says an old chronicler, after having confessed, and performed the last duties of a good and faithful Christian. Although scarcely twenty-four years

of age, this cavalier had given proofs of such signal prowess that he was esteemed one of the best knights of Castile; and his death threw a general gloom over the army.[4]

Ferdinand now became convinced of the unsuitableness of a position which neither admitted of easy communication between the different quarters of his own camp nor enabled him to intercept the supplies daily passing into that of his enemy. Other inconveniences also pressed upon him. His men were so badly provided with the necessary utensils for dressing their food that they were obliged to devour it raw, or only half cooked. Most of them being new recruits, unaccustomed to the privations of war, and many exhausted by a wearisome length of march before joining the army, they began openly to murmur, and even to desert in great numbers. Ferdinand therefore resolved to fall back as far as Rio Frio, and await there patiently the arrival of such fresh reinforcements as might put him in condition to enforce a more rigorous blockade.

Orders were accordingly issued to the cavaliers occupying the Heights of Albohacen to break up their camp and fall back on the main body of the army. This was executed on the following morning before dawn, being the 4th of July. No sooner did the Moors of Loja perceive their enemy abandoning his strong position, than they sallied forth in considerable force to take possession of it.

[4] Rades y Andrada, Las tres Ordenes, fol. 80, 81.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 173.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 7.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 214.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1482.

Ferdinand's men, who had not been advised of the proposed manœuvre, no sooner beheld the Moorish array brightening the crest of the mountain, and their own countrymen rapidly descending, than they imagined that these latter had been surprised in their intrenchments during the night, and were now flying before the enemy. An alarm instantly spread through the whole camp. Instead of standing to their defence, each one thought only of saving himself by as speedy a flight as possible. In vain did Ferdinand, riding along their broken files, endeavor to reanimate their spirits and restore order. He might as easily have calmed the winds, as the disorder of a panic-struck mob, unschooled by discipline or experience. Ali Atar's practised eye speedily discerned the confusion which prevailed through the Christian camp. Without delay, he rushed forth impetuously at the head of his whole array from the gates of Loja, and converted into a real danger what had before been only an imaginary one.[5]

At this perilous moment, nothing but Ferdinand's coolness could have saved the army from total destruction. Putting himself at the head of the royal guard, and accompanied by a gallant band of cavaliers, who held honor dearer than life, he made such a determined stand against the Moorish advance that Ali Atar was compelled to pause in his career. A furious struggle ensued betwixt this devoted little band and the whole

[5] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 189–191.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 58.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 214–217.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 260, 261.

strength of the Moslem army. Ferdinand was repeatedly exposed to imminent peril. On one occasion he was indebted for his safety to the marquis of Cadiz, who, charging at the head of about sixty lances, broke the deep ranks of the Moorish column, and, compelling it to recoil, succeeded in rescuing his sovereign. In this adventure he narrowly escaped with his own life, his horse being shot under him at the very moment when he had lost his lance in the body of a Moor. Never did the Spanish chivalry shed its blood more freely. The constable, count de Haro, received three wounds in the face. The duke of Medina Celi was unhorsed and brought to the ground, and saved with difficulty by his own men; and the count of Tendilla, whose encampment lay nearest the city, received several severe blows, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had it not been for the timely aid of his friend the young count of Zuñiga.

The Moors, finding it so difficult to make an impression on this iron band of warriors, began at length to slacken their efforts, and finally allowed Ferdinand to draw off the remnant of his forces without further opposition. The king continued his retreat, without halting, as far as the romantic site of the Peña de los Enamorados, about seven leagues distant from Loja, and, abandoning all thoughts of offensive operations for the present, soon after returned to Cordova. Muley Abul Hacen arrived the following day with a powerful reinforcement from Granada, and swept the country as far as Rio Frio. Had he come but a few

hours sooner, there would have been few Spaniards left to tell the tale of the rout of Loja.[6]

The loss of the Christians must have been very considerable, including the greater part of the baggage and the artillery. It occasioned deep mortification to the queen; but, though a severe, it proved a salutary lesson. It showed the importance of more extensive preparations for a war which must of necessity be a war of posts; and it taught the nation to entertain greater respect for an enemy who, whatever might be his natural strength, must become formidable when armed with the energy of despair.

At this juncture, a division among the Moors themselves did more for the Christians than any successes of their own. This division grew out of the vicious system of polygamy, which sows the

[6] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 58.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 214–217.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 7.—The *Peña de los Enamorados* received its name from a tragical incident in Moorish history. A Christian slave succeeded in inspiring the daughter of his master, a wealthy Mussulman of Granada, with a passion for himself. The two lovers, after some time, fearful of the detection of their intrigue, resolved to make their escape into the Spanish territory. Before they could effect their purpose, however, they were hotly pursued by the damsel's father at the head of a party of Moorish horsemen, and overtaken near a precipice which rises between Archidona and Antequera. The unfortunate fugitives, who had scrambled to the summit of the rocks, finding all further escape impracticable, after tenderly embracing each other, threw themselves headlong from the dizzy heights, preferring this dreadful death to falling into the hands of their vindictive pursuers. The spot consecrated as the scene of this tragic incident has received the name of *Rock of the Lovers.* The legend is prettily told by Mariana (Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 253, 254), who concludes with the pithy reflection that "such constancy would have been truly admirable had it been shown in defence of the true faith, rather than in the gratification of lawless appetite."

seeds of discord among those whom nature and our own happier institutions unite most closely. The old king of Granada had become so deeply enamored of a Greek slave that the Sultana Zoraya, jealous lest the offspring of her rival should supplant her own in the succession, secretly contrived to stir up a spirit of discontent with her husband's government. The king, becoming acquainted with her intrigues, caused her to be imprisoned in the fortress of the Alhambra. But the sultana, binding together the scarfs and veils belonging to herself and attendants, succeeded, by means of this perilous conveyance, in making her escape, together with her children, from the upper apartments of the tower in which she was lodged. She was received with joy by her own faction. The insurrection soon spread among the populace, who, yielding to the impulses of nature, are readily roused by a tale of oppression; and the number was still further swelled by many of higher rank, who had various causes of disgust with the oppressive government of Abul Hacen.[7] The strong fortress of the Alhambra, however, remained faithful to him. A war now burst forth in the capital which deluged its streets with the blood of its citizens. At length the sultana triumphed;

[7] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 214–217.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 262, 263.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.—Bernaldez states that great umbrage was taken at the influence which the king of Granada allowed a person of Christian lineage, named Benegas, to exercise over him. Pulgar hints at the bloody massacre of the Abencerrages, which, without any better authority that I know of, forms the burden of many an ancient ballad, and has lost nothing of its romantic coloring under the hand of Ginés Perez de Hita.

Abul Hacen was expelled from Granada, and sought a refuge in Malaga, which, with Baza, Guadix, and some other places of importance, still adhered to him; while Granada, and by far the larger portion of the kingdom, proclaimed the authority of his elder son, Abu Abdallah, or Boabdil, as he is usually called by the Castilian writers. The Spanish sovereigns viewed with no small interest these proceedings of the Moors, who were thus wantonly fighting the battles of their enemies. All proffers of assistance on their part, however, being warily rejected by both factions, notwithstanding the mutual hatred between them, they could only wait with patience the termination of a struggle which, whatever might be its results in other respects, could not fail to open the way for the success of their own arms.[8]

No military operations worthy of notice oc-

[8] Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, ubi supra.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, ubi supra.—Boabdil was surnamed "el Chico," *the Little,* by the Spanish writers, to distinguish him from an uncle of the same name; and "el Zogoybi," *the Unfortunate,* by the Moors, indicating that he was the last of his race destined to wear the diadem of Granada. The Arabs, with great felicity, frequently select names significant of some quality in the objects they represent. Examples of this may be readily found in the southern regions of the Peninsula, where the Moors lingered the longest. The etymology of Gibraltar, Gebal Tarik, *Mount of Tarik,* is well known. Thus, Algeziras comes from an Arabic word which signifies *an island;* Alpujarras comes from a term signifying *herbage* or *pasturage;* Arrecife from another, signifying *causeway* or *highroad,* etc. The Arabic word *wad* stands for *river.* This without much violence has been changed into *guad,* and enters into the names of many of the southern streams; for example, Guadalquivir, *great river;* Guadiana, *narrow* or *little river,* Guadalete, etc. In the same manner the term Medina, signifying "city," has been retained as a prefix to the names of many of the Spanish towns, as Medina Celi, Medina del Campo, etc. See Conde's notes to El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, passim.

curred during the remainder of the campaign, except occasional *cavalgadas,* or inroads, on both sides, which, after the usual unsparing devastation, swept away whole herds of cattle, and human beings, the wretched cultivators of the soil. The quantity of booty frequently carried off on such occasions, amounting, according to the testimony of both Christian and Moorish writers, to twenty, thirty, and even fifty thousand head of cattle, shows the fruitfulness and abundant pasturage in the southern regions of the Peninsula. The loss inflicted by these terrible forays fell, eventually, most heavily on Granada, in consequence of her scanty territory and insulated position, which cut her off from all foreign resources.

Towards the end of October, the court passed from Cordova to Madrid, with the intention of remaining there the ensuing winter. Madrid, it may be observed, however, was so far from being recognized as the capital of the monarchy at this time, that it was inferior to several other cities in wealth and population, and was even less frequented than some others, Valladolid for example, as a royal residence.

On the 1st of July, while the court was at Cordova, died Alfonso de Carillo, the factious archbishop of Toledo, who contributed more than any other to raise Isabella to the throne, and who, with the same arm, had wellnigh hurled her from it. He passed the close of his life in retirement and disgrace at his town of Alcalá de Henares, where he devoted himself to science, especially to alchemy; in which illusory pursuit he is said to have

squandered his princely revenues with such prodigality as to leave them encumbered with a heavy debt. He was succeeded in the primacy by his ancient rival, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, cardinal of Spain; a prelate whose enlarged and sagacious views gained him deserved ascendency in the councils of his sovereigns.[9]

The importance of their domestic concerns did not prevent Ferdinand and Isabella from giving a vigilant attention to what was passing abroad. The conflicting relations growing out of the feudal system occupied most princes, till the close of the fifteenth century, too closely at home to allow them often to turn their eyes beyond the borders of their own territories. This system was, indeed, now rapidly melting away. But Louis the Eleventh may perhaps be regarded as the first monarch who showed anything like an extended interest in European politics. He informed himself of the interior proceedings of most of the neighboring courts, by means of secret agents whom he pensioned there. Ferdinand obtained a similar result by the more honorable expedient of resident embassies, a practice which he is said to have introduced,[10] and which, while it has

[9] Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 181.—Pulgar, Claros Varones, tit. 20.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1483.—Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. v. p. 11, ed. 1766.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 158.

[10] Fred. Marslaar, De Leg. 2, 11.—M. de Wicquefort derives the word *ambassadeur* (anciently in English *embassador*) from the Spanish word *embiar*, "to send." See Rights of Embassadors, translated by Digby (London, 1740), book 1, chap. 1.*

* [*Embassador*, the older English form, may have come directly from the Spanish *embajador;* but *ambassiator, ambasciator,* and

greatly facilitated commercial intercourse, has served to perpetuate friendly relations between different countries, by accustoming them to settle their differences by negotiation rather than the sword.

The position of the Italian states at this period, whose petty feuds seemed to blind them to the invasion which menaced them from the Ottoman empire, was such as to excite a lively interest throughout Christendom, and especially in Ferdinand, as sovereign of Sicily. He succeeded, by means of his ambassadors at the papal court, in opening a negotiation between the belligerents, and in finally adjusting the terms of a general pacification, signed December 12th, 1482. The Spanish court, in consequence of its friendly mediation on this occasion, received three several embassies, with suitable acknowledgments, on the part of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, the college of cardinals, and the city of Rome; and certain marks of distinction were conferred by his Holiness on the Castilian envoys, not enjoyed by those of any other potentate. This event is worthy of

ambaxiator are mediæval Latin forms, derived usually from *ambactus* (see Ducange), while *ambassador*, as an Italian form, occurs at least as early as 1470, under which date the Venetian diarist Malipieri mentions an instance of a permanent embassy several years prior to Ferdinand's accession. ("La signoria se intende ben co'l duca Carlo de Borgogna, al qual se tien un *ambassador que fa residenza*, et è adesso Bernardo Bembo, dottore." Archivio storico italiano, tom. vii.) But Venice and Milan had long maintained the same usage in their intercourse with each other, as well as with the court of Rome, where, indeed, resident ministers from foreign states were the rule, not, as elsewhere down to the latter part of the fifteenth century, the exception. (See Reumont, Della Diplomazia italiana dal Secolo XIII. al XVI.)—K.]

notice as the first instance of Ferdinand's interference in the politics of Italy, in which at a later period he was destined to act so prominent a part.[11]

The affairs of Navarre at this time were such as to engage still more deeply the attention of the Spanish sovereigns. The crown of that kingdom had devolved, on the death of Leonora, the guilty sister of Ferdinand, on her grandchild, Francis Phœbus, whose mother, Magdeleine of France, held the reins of government during her son's minority.[12] The near relationship of this princess to Louis the Eleventh gave that monarch an absolute influence in the councils of Navarre. He made use of this to bring about a marriage between the young king, Francis Phœbus, and Joanna Beltraneja, Isabella's former competitor for the crown of Castile, notwithstanding this princess had long since taken the veil in the convent of Santa Clara at Coimbra. It is not easy to unravel the tortuous politics of King Louis. The Spanish writers impute to him the design of enabling

[11] Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, tom. xi. cap. 88.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 195–198.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 218.

[12] Aleson, Anales de Navarra, lib. 34, cap. 1.—Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 558. Leonora's son, Gaston de Foix, prince of Viana, was slain by an accidental wound from a lance, at a tourney at Lisbon, in 1469. By the princess Magdeleine, his wife, sister of Louis XI., he left two children, a son and daughter, each of whom in turn succeeded to the crown of Navarre. Francis Phœbus ascended the throne on the demise of his grandmother Leonora, in 1479. He was distinguished by his personal graces and beauty, and especially by the golden lustre of his hair, from which, according to Aleson, he derived his cognomen of Phœbus. As it was an ancestral name, however, such an etymology may be thought somewhat fanciful.

Joanna by this alliance to establish her pretensions to the Castilian throne, or at least to give such employment to its present proprietors as should effectually prevent them from disturbing him in the possession of Roussillon. However this may be, his intrigues with Portugal were disclosed to Ferdinand by certain nobles of that court, with whom he was in secret correspondence. The Spanish sovereigns, in order to counteract this scheme, offered the hand of their own daughter Joanna, afterwards mother of Charles the Fifth, to the king of Navarre. But all negotiations relative to this matter were eventually defeated by the sudden death of this young prince, not without strong suspicions of poison. He was succeeded on the throne by his sister Catharine. Propositions were then made by Ferdinand and Isabella for the marriage of this princess, then thirteen years of age, with their infant son John, heir apparent of their united monarchies.[13] Such an alliance, which would bring under one government nations corresponding in origin, language, general habits, and local interests, presented great and obvious advantages. It was, however, evaded by the queen dowager, who still acted as regent, on the pretext of disparity of age in the parties. Information being soon after received that Louis the Eleventh was taking measures to make himself master of the strong places in Navarre, Isabella transferred her

[13] Ferdinand and Isabella had at this time four children; the infant Don John, four years and a half old, but who did not live to come to the succession, and the infantas Isabella, Joanna, and Maria; the last born at Cordova during the summer of 1482.

residence to the frontier town of Logroño, prepared to resist by arms, if necessary, the occupation of that country by her insidious and powerful neighbor. The death of the king of France, which occurred not long after, fortunately relieved the sovereigns from apprehensions of any immediate annoyance in that quarter.[14]

Amid their manifold concerns, Ferdinand and Isabella kept their thoughts anxiously bent on their great enterprise, the conquest of Granada. At a congress general of the deputies of the hermandad, held at Pinto at the commencement of the present year, 1483, with the view of reforming certain abuses in that institution, a liberal grant was made of eight thousand men, and sixteen thousand beasts of burden, for the purpose of conveying supplies to the garrison in Alhama. But the sovereigns experienced great embarrassment from the want of funds. There is probably no period in which the princes of Europe felt so sensibly their own penury as at the close of the fifteenth century; when, the demesnes of the crown having been very generally wasted by the lavishness or imbecility of its proprietors, no substitute had as yet been found in that searching and well-arranged system of taxation which prevails at the present day. The Spanish sovereigns, notwithstanding the economy which they had introduced into the finances, felt the pressure of these

[14] Aleson, Anales de Navarra, lib. 34, cap. 2; lib. 35, cap. 1.—Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, pp. 578, 579.—La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iii. pp. 438–441.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 199.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 551.

embarrassments peculiarly at the present juncture. The maintenance of the royal guard and of the vast national police of the hermandad, the incessant military operations of the late campaign, together with the equipment of a navy, not merely for war, but for maritime discovery, were so many copious drains on the exchequer.[15] Under these circumstances, they obtained from the pope a grant of one hundred thousand ducats, to be raised out of the ecclesiastical revenues in Castile and Aragon. A bull of crusade was also published by his Holiness, containing numerous indulgences for such as should bear arms against the infidel, as well as those who should prefer to commute their military service for the payment of a sum of money. In addition to these resources, the government was enabled on its own credit, justified by the punctuality with which it had redeemed its past engagements, to negotiate considerable loans with several wealthy individuals.[16]

With these funds the sovereigns entered into extensive arrangements for the ensuing campaign; causing cannon, after the rude construction of that age, to be fabricated at Huesca, and a large quantity of stone balls, then principally used, to be manufactured in the Sierra de Constantina; while

[15] Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 1.—Besides the armada in the Mediterranean, a fleet under Pedro de Vera was prosecuting a voyage of discovery and conquest to the Canaries, which will be the subject of more particular notice hereafter.

[16] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 199.—Mariana, tom. ii. p. 551.—Coleccion de Cédulas y otros Documentos (Madrid, 1829), tom. iii. no. 25.—For this important collection, of which only a few copies were printed for distribution, at the expense of the Spanish government, I am indebted to the politeness of Don A. Calderon de la Barca.

the magazines were carefully provided with ammunition and military stores.

An event not unworthy of notice is recorded by Pulgar as happening about this time. A common soldier, named John de Corral, contrived, under false pretences, to obtain from the king of Granada a number of Christian captives, together with a large sum of money, with which he escaped into Andalusia. The man was apprehended by the warden of the frontier of Jaen; and, the transaction being reported to the sovereigns, they compelled an entire restitution of the money, and consented to such a ransom for the liberated Christians as the king of Granada should demand. This act of justice, it should be remembered, occurred in an age when the church itself stood ready to sanction any breach of faith, however glaring, towards heretics and infidels.[17]

While the court was detained in the north, tidings were received of a reverse sustained by the Spanish arms, which plunged the nation in sorrow far deeper than that occasioned by the rout at

[17] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 58.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 202.—Juan de Corral imposed on the king of Granada by means of certain credentials, which he had obtained from the Spanish sovereigns without any privity on their part to his fraudulent intentions. The story is told in a very blind manner by Pulgar. It may not be amiss to mention here a doughty feat performed by another Castilian envoy, of much higher rank, Don Juan de Vera. This knight, while conversing with certain Moorish cavaliers in the Alhambra, was so much scandalized by the freedom with which one of them treated the immaculate conception, that he gave the circumcised dog the lie, and smote him a sharp blow on the head with his sword. Ferdinand, says Bernaldez, who tells the story, was much gratified with the exploit, and recompensed the good knight with many honors.

Loja. Don Alonso de Cardenas, grand master of St. James, an old and confidential servant of the crown, had been intrusted with the defence of the frontier of Ecija. While on this station, he was strongly urged to make a descent on the environs of Malaga, by his *adalides* or scouts, men who, being for the most part Moorish deserters or renegadoes, were employed by the border chiefs to reconnoitre the enemy's country or to guide them in their marauding expeditions.[18] The district around Malaga was famous under the Saracens for its silk manufactures, of which it annually made large exports to other parts of Europe. It was to be approached by traversing a savage sierra, or chain of mountains, called the Axarquia, whose margin occasionally afforded good pasturage, and was sprinkled over with Moorish villages. After threading its defiles, it was proposed to return by an open road that turned the southern extremity

[18] The *adalid* was a guide, or scout, whose business it was to make himself acquainted with the enemy's country, and to guide the invaders into it. Much dispute has arisen respecting the authority and functions of this officer. Some writers regard him as an independent leader, or commander; and the Dictionary of the Academy defines the term *adalid* by these very words. The Siete Partidas, however, explains at length the peculiar duties of this officer, conformably to the account I have given. (Ed. de la Real Acad. (Madrid, 1807), part. 2, tit. 2, leyes 1–4.) Bernaldez, Pulgar, and the other chroniclers of the Granadine war repeatedly notice him in this connection. When he is spoken of as a captain, or leader, as he sometimes is in these and other ancient records, his authority, I suspect, is intended to be limited to the persons who aided him in the execution of his peculiar office. It was common for the great chiefs who lived on the borders to maintain in their pay a number of these *adalides*, to inform them of the fitting time and place for making a foray. The post, as may well be believed, was one of great trust and personal hazard.

of the sierra along the sea-shore. There was little to be apprehended, it was stated, from pursuit, since Malaga was almost wholly unprovided with cavalry.[19]

The grand master, falling in with the proposition, communicated it to the principal chiefs on the borders; among others, to Don Pedro Henriquez, adelantado of Andalusia, Don Juan de Silva, count of Cifuentes, Don Alonso de Aguilar, and the marquis of Cadiz. These noblemen, collecting their retainers, repaired to Antequera, where the ranks were quickly swelled by recruits from Cordova, Seville, Xerez, and other cities of Andalusia, whose chivalry always readily answered the summons to an expedition over the border.[20]

In the mean while, however, the marquis of Cadiz had received such intelligence from his own *adalides* as led him to doubt the expediency of a march through intricate defiles, inhabited by a poor and hardy peasantry; and he strongly ad-

[19] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 203.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 173.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 320.

[20] Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 2.—The title of *adelantado* implies in its etymology one preferred or placed before others. The office is of great antiquity; some have derived it from the reign of St. Ferdinand in the thirteenth century, but Mendoza proves its existence at a far earlier period. The adelantado was possessed of very extensive judicial authority in the province or district in which he presided, and in war was invested with supreme military command. His functions, however, as well as the territories over which he ruled, have varied at different periods. An adelantado seems to have been generally established over a border province, as Andalusia for example. Marina discusses the civil authority of this officer, in his Teoría, tom ii. cap. 23. See also Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades, lib. 2, cap. 15.

vised to direct the expedition against the neighboring town of Almojia. But in this he was overruled by the grand master and the other partners of his enterprise; many of whom, with the rash confidence of youth, were excited rather than intimidated by the prospect of danger.

On Wednesday, the 19th of March, this gallant little army marched forth from the gates of Antequera. The van was intrusted to the adelantado Henriquez and Don Alonso de Aguilar. The centre divisions were led by the marquis of Cadiz and the count of Cifuentes, and the rear-guard by the grand master of St. James. The number of foot, which is uncertain, appears to have been considerably less than that of the horse, which amounted to about three thousand, containing the flower of Andalusian knighthood, together with the array of St. James, the most opulent and powerful of the Spanish military orders. Never, says an Aragonese historian, had there been seen in these times a more splendid body of chivalry; and such was their confidence, he adds, that they deemed themselves invincible by any force which the Moslems could bring against them. The leaders took care not to encumber the movements of the army with artillery, camp-equipage, or even much forage and provisions, for which they trusted to the invaded territory. A number of persons, however, followed in the train, who, influenced by desire rather of gain than of glory, had come provided with money, as well as commissions from their friends,

for the purchase of rich spoil, whether of slaves, stuffs, or jewels, which they expected would be won by the good swords of their comrades, as in Alhama.[21]

After travelling with little intermission through the night, the army entered the winding defiles of the Axarquia; where their progress was necessarily so much impeded by the character of the ground that most of the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed had opportunity to escape with the greater part of their effects to the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. The Spaniards, after plundering the deserted hamlets of whatever remained, as well as of the few stragglers, whether men or cattle, found still lingering about them, set them on fire. In this way they advanced, marking their line of march with the usual devastation that accompanied these ferocious forays, until the columns of smoke and fire which rose above the hill-tops announced to the people of Malaga the near approach of an enemy.

The old king Muley Abul Hacen, who lay at this time in the city, with a numerous and well-appointed body of horse, contrary to the reports of the adalides, would have rushed forth at once at their head, had he not been dissuaded from it by his younger brother Abdallah, who is better known in history by the name of El Zagal, or "the Valiant;" an Arabic epithet, given him by his

[21] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.—Rades y Andrada, Las tres Ordenes, fol. 71.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 320.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, fol. 395.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 2.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

countrymen to distinguish him from his nephew, the ruling king of Granada. To this prince Abul Hacen intrusted the command of the corps of picked cavalry, with instructions to penetrate at once into the lower level of the sierra and encounter the Christians entangled in its passes; while another division, consisting chiefly of arquebusiers and archers, should turn the enemy's flank by gaining the heights under which he was defiling. This last corps was placed under the direction of Reduan Benegas, a chief of Christian lineage, according to Bernaldez, and who may perhaps be identified with the Reduan that, in the later Moorish ballads, seems to be shadowed forth as the personification of love and heroism.[22]

The Castilian army in the mean time went forward with a buoyant and reckless confidence, and with very little subordination. The divisions occupying the advance and centre, disappointed in their expectations of booty, had quitted the line of march, and dispersed in small parties in search of plunder over the adjacent country; and some of the high-mettled young cavaliers had the audacity to ride up in defiance to the very walls of Malaga. The grand master of St. James was the only leader who kept his columns unbroken and marched forward in order of battle. Things were in this state, when the Moorish cavalry under El Zagal, suddenly emerging from one of the mountain-passes,

[22] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 217.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 264–267.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.

appeared before the astonished rear-guard of the Christians. The Moors spurred on to the assault, but the well-disciplined chivalry of St. James remained unshaken. In the fierce struggle which ensued, the Andalusians became embarrassed by the narrowness of the ground on which they were engaged, which afforded no scope for the manœuvres of cavalry; while the Moors, trained to the wild tactics of mountain warfare, went through their usual evolutions, retreating and returning to the charge with a celerity that sorely distressed their opponents, and at length threw them into some disorder. The grand master in consequence despatched a message to the marquis of Cadiz, requesting his support. The latter, putting himself at the head of such of his scattered forces as he could hastily muster, readily obeyed the summons. Discerning on his approach the real source of the grand master's embarrassment, he succeeded in changing the field of action by drawing off the Moors to an open reach of the valley, which allowed free play to the movements of the Andalusian horse, when the combined squadrons pressed so hard on the Moslems that they were soon compelled to take refuge within the depths of their own mountains.[23]

In the mean while, the scattered troops of the advance, alarmed by the report of the action, gradually assembled under their respective ban-

[23] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 217.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 204.—Rades y Andrada, La tres Ordenes, fol. 71, 72.

ners, and fell back upon the rear. A council of war was then called. All further progress seemed to be effectually intercepted. The country was everywhere in arms. The most that could now be hoped was that they might be suffered to retire unmolested with such plunder as they had already acquired. Two routes lay open for this purpose,—the one winding along the sea-shore, wide and level, but circuitous, and swept through the whole range of its narrow entrance by the fortress of Malaga. This determined them, unhappily, to prefer the other route, being that by which they had penetrated the Axarquia, or rather a shorter cut, by which the adalides undertook to conduct them through its mazes.[24]

The little army commenced its retrograde movement with undiminished spirit. But it was now embarrassed with the transportation of its plunder, and by the increasing difficulties of the sierra, which, as they ascended its sides, was matted over with impenetrable thickets, and broken up by formidable ravines or channels, cut deep into the soil by the mountain torrents. The Moors were now seen mustering in considerable numbers along the heights, and, as they were expert marksmen, being trained by early and assiduous practice, the shots from their arquebuses and cross-bows frequently found some assailable point in the harness of the Spanish men-at-arms. At length, the army, through the treachery or ignorance of the guides, was suddenly brought to a halt by arriving in a

[24] Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 552, 553.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 205.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 321.

deep glen or inclosure, whose rocky sides rose with such boldness as to be scarcely practicable for infantry, much less for horse. To add to their distresses, daylight, without which they could scarcely hope to extricate themselves, was fast fading away.[25]

In this extremity no other alternative seemed to remain than to attempt to regain the route from which they had departed. As all other considerations were now subordinate to those of personal safety, it was agreed to abandon the spoil acquired at so much hazard, which greatly retarded their movements. As they painfully retraced their steps, the darkness of the night was partially dispelled by numerous fires, which blazed along the hill-tops, and which showed the figures of their enemies flitting to and fro like so many spectres. It seemed, says Bernaldez, as if ten thousand torches were glancing along the mountains. At length, the whole body, faint with fatigue and hunger, reached the borders of a little stream, which flowed through a valley whose avenues, as well as the rugged heights by which it was commanded, were already occupied by the enemy, who poured down mingled volleys of shot, stones, and arrows on the heads of the Christians. The compact mass presented by the latter afforded a sure mark to the artillery of the Moors; while they, from their scattered position, as well as from the defences afforded by the nature of the ground,

[25] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 205.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. p. 636.

were exposed to little annoyance in return. In addition to lighter missiles, the Moors occasionally dislodged large fragments of rock, which, rolling with tremendous violence down the declivities of the hills, spread frightful desolation through the Christian ranks.[26]

The dismay occasioned by these scenes, occurring amidst the darkness of night, and heightened by the shrill war-cries of the Moors, which rose around them on every quarter, seems to have completely bewildered the Spaniards, even their leaders. It was the misfortune of the expedition that there was but little concert between the several commanders, or, at least, that there was no one so pre-eminent above the rest as to assume authority at this awful moment. So far, it would seem, from attempting escape, they continued in their perilous position, uncertain what course to take, until midnight; when at length, after having seen their best and bravest followers fall thick around them, they determined at all hazards to force a passage across the sierra in the face of the enemy. "Better lose our lives," said the grand master of St. James, addressing his men, "in cutting a way through the foe, than be butchered without resistance, like cattle in the shambles." [27]

The marquis of Cadiz, guided by a trusty adalid, and accompanied by sixty or seventy lances,

[26] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicas, ubi supra.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 264–267.

[27] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 206.—Rades y Andrada, Las tres Ordenes, fol. 71, 72.

was fortunate enough to gain a circuitous route less vigilantly guarded by the enemy, whose attention was drawn to the movements of the main body of the Castilian army. By means of this path, the marquis with his little band succeeded, after a painful march, in which his good steed sunk under him oppressed with wounds and fatigue, in reaching a valley at some distance from the scene of action, where he determined to await the coming up of his friends, who he confidently expected would follow on his track.[28]

But the grand master and his associates, missing this track in the darkness of the night, or perhaps preferring another, breasted the sierra in a part where it proved extremely difficult of ascent. At every step the loosened earth gave way under the pressure of the foot; and, the infantry endeavoring to support themselves by clinging to the tails and manes of the horses, the jaded animals, borne down with the weight, rolled headlong with their riders on the ranks below, or were precipitated down the sides of the numerous ravines. The Moors, all the while, avoiding a close encounter, contented themselves with discharging on the heads of their opponents an unintermitted shower of missiles of every description.[29]

It was not until the following morning that the

[28] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.

[29] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 206.—Mr. Irving, in his "Conquest of Granada," states that the scene of the greatest slaughter in this rout is still known to the inhabitants of the Axarquia by the name of *La Cuesta de la Matanza,* or "The Hill of the Massacre."

Castilians, having surmounted the crest of the eminence, began the descent into the opposite valley, which they had the mortification to observe was commanded on every point by their vigilant adversary, who seemed now in their eyes to possess the powers of ubiquity. As the light broke upon the troops, it revealed the whole extent of their melancholy condition. How different from the magnificent array which, but two days previous, had marched forth with such high and confident hopes from the gates of Antequera! their ranks thinned, their bright arms defaced and broken, their banners rent in pieces, or lost,—as had been that of St. James, together with its gallant *alferez,* Diego Becerra, in the terrible passage of the preceding night,—their countenances aghast with terror, fatigue, and famine! Despair was now in every eye; all subordination was at an end. No one, says Pulgar, heeded any longer the call of the trumpet or the wave of the banner. Each sought only his own safety, without regard to his comrade. Some threw away their arms, hoping by this means to facilitate their escape, while in fact it only left them more defenceless against the shafts of their enemies. Some, oppressed with fatigue and terror, fell down and died without so much as receiving a wound. The panic was such that, in more than one instance, two or three Moorish soldiers were known to capture thrice their own number of Spaniards. Some, losing their way, strayed back to Malaga and were made prisoners by females of the city, who overtook them in the fields. Others escaped to Alhama or other distant

places, after wandering seven or eight days among the mountains, sustaining life on such wild herbs and berries as they could find, and lying close during the day. A greater number succeeded in reaching Antequera, and, among these, most of the leaders of the expedition. The grand master of St. James, the adelantado Henriquez, and Don Alonso de Aguilar effected their escape by scaling so perilous a part of the sierra that their pursuers cared not to follow. The count de Cifuentes was less fortunate.[30] That nobleman's division was said to have suffered more severely than any other. On the morning after the bloody passage of the mountain, he found himself suddenly cut off from his followers, and surrounded by six Moorish cavaliers, against whom he was defending himself with desperate courage, when their leader, Reduan Benegas, struck with the inequality of the combat, broke in, exclaiming, "Hold! this is unworthy of good knights." The assailants fell back, abashed by the rebuke, and left the count to their commander. A close encounter then took place between the two chiefs; but the strength of the Spaniard was no longer equal to his spirit, and, after a brief resistance, he was forced to surrender to his generous enemy.[31]

[30] Oviedo, who devotes one of his dialogues to this nobleman, says of him, "Fue una de las buenas lanzas de nuestra España en su tiempo; y muy sabio y prudente caballero. Hallose en grandes cargos y negocios de paz y de guerra." Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

[31] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 218.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 321.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1483.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 266,

The marquis of Cadiz had better fortune. After waiting till dawn for the coming up of his friends, he concluded that they had extricated themselves by a different route. He resolved to provide for his own safety and that of his followers, and, being supplied with a fresh horse, accomplished his escape, after traversing the wildest passages of the Axarquia for the distance of four leagues, and got into Antequera with but little interruption from the enemy. But, although he secured his personal safety, the misfortunes of the day fell heavily on his house; for two of his brothers were cut down by his side, and a third brother, with a nephew, fell into the hands of the enemy.[32]

The number of the slain in the two days' action is admitted by the Spanish writers to have exceeded eight hundred, with double that number of prisoners. The Moorish force is said to have been small, and its loss comparatively trifling. The numerical estimates of the Spanish historians, as usual, appear extremely loose; and the narrative of their enemies is too meagre in this portion of their annals to allow any opportunity of verification. There is no reason, however, to believe them in any degree exaggerated.

267.—The count, according to Oviedo, remained a long while a prisoner in Granada, until he was ransomed by the payment of several thousand doblas of gold. Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

[32] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.—Marmol says that three brothers and two nephews of the marquis, whose names he gives, were all slain. Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

The best blood of Andalusia was shed on this occasion. Among the slain, Bernaldez reckons two hundred and fifty, and Pulgar four hundred, persons of quality, with thirty commanders of the military fraternity of St. James. There was scarcely a family in the south but had to mourn the loss of some one of its members by death or captivity; and the distress was not a little aggravated by the uncertainty which hung over the fate of the absent, as to whether they had fallen in the field, or were still wandering in the wilderness, or were pining away existence in the dungeons of Malaga and Granada.[33]

Some imputed the failure of the expedition to treachery in the adalides, some to want of concert among the commanders. The worthy Curate of Los Palacios concludes his narrative of the disaster in the following manner: "The number of the Moors was small who inflicted this grievous defeat on the Christians. It was, indeed, clearly miraculous, and we may discern in it the special interposition of Providence, justly offended with the greater part of those that engaged in the expedition; who, instead of confessing, partaking of the sacrament, and making their testaments, as becomes good Christians, and men that are to bear arms in defence of the Holy Catholic Faith, acknowledged that they did not bring with them suitable dispositions, but, with little regard to

[33] Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, fol. 395.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., ubi supra.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 206.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

God's service, were influenced by covetousness and love of ungodly gain." [34]

[34] Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.—Pulgar has devoted a large space to the unfortunate expedition to the Axarquia. His intimacy with the principal persons of the court enabled him, no doubt, to verify most of the particulars which he records. The Curate of Los Palacios, from the proximity of his residence to the theatre of action, may be supposed also to have had ample means for obtaining the requisite information. Yet their several accounts, although not strictly contradictory, it is not always easy to reconcile with one another. The narratives of complex military operations are not likely to be simplified under the hands of monkish bookmen. I have endeavored to make out a connected tissue from a comparison of the Moslem with the Castilian authorities. But here the meagreness of the Moslem annals compels us to lament the premature death of Conde. It can hardly be expected, indeed, that the Moors should have dwelt with much amplification on this humiliating period. But there can be little doubt that far more copious memorials of theirs than any now published exist in the Spanish libraries; and it were much to be wished that some Oriental scholar would supply Conde's deficiency, by exploring these authentic records of what may be deemed, so far as Christian Spain is concerned, the most glorious portion of her history.

CHAPTER XI

WAR OF GRANADA—GENERAL VIEW OF THE POLICY PURSUED IN THE CONDUCT OF THIS WAR

1483–1487

Defeat and Capture of Abdallah—Policy of the Sovereigns—Large Trains of Artillery—Description of the Pieces—Stupendous Roads—Isabella's Care of the Troops—Her Perseverance—Discipline of the Army—Swiss Mercenaries—English Lord Scales—Magnificence of the Nobles—Isabella visits the Camp—Ceremonies on the Occupation of a City

THE young monarch, Abu Abdallah, was probably the only person in Granada who did not receive with unmingled satisfaction the tidings of the rout in the Axarquia. He beheld with secret uneasiness the laurels thus acquired by the old king his father, or rather by his ambitious uncle El Zaga, whose name now resounded from every quarter as the successful champion of the Moslems. He saw the necessity of some dazzling enterprise, if he would maintain an ascendency even over the faction which had seated him on the throne. He accordingly projected an excursion which, instead of terminating in a mere border foray, should lead to the achievement of some permanent conquest.

He found no difficulty, while the spirits of his people were roused, in raising a force of nine thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, the flower of Granada's chivalry. He strengthened his army

still further by the presence of Ali Atar, the defender of Loja, the veteran of a hundred battles, whose military prowess had raised him from the common file up to the highest post in the army, and whose plebeian blood had been permitted to mingle with that of royalty, by the marriage of his daughter with the young king Abdallah.

With this gallant array, the Moorish monarch sallied forth from Granada. As he led the way through the avenue which still bears the name of the gate of Elvira,[1] the point of his lance came in contact with the arch, and was broken. This sinister omen was followed by another more alarming. A fox, which crossed the path of the army, was seen to run through the ranks, and, notwithstand-

[1] "Por esa puerte de Elvira
sale muy gran cabalgada;
cuánto del *hidalgo moro,*
cuánto de la yegua baya.
* * * * *
"Cuánta pluma y gentileza,
cuánto capellar de grana,
cuánto bayo borceguf,
cuánto raso que se esmalta,

"Cuánto de espuela de oro,
cuánta estribera de plata!
Toda es gente valerosa,
y esperta para batalla.

"En medio de todos ellos
va el rey Chico de Granada,
mirando las damas moras
de las torres del Alhambra.

"La reina mora su madre
de esta manera le habla:
'Alá te guarde, mi hijo,
Mahoma vaya en tu guarda.'"
Hita, Guerras de Granada, tom. 1, p. 232.

ing the showers of missiles discharged at him, to make his escape unhurt. Abdallah's counsellors would have persuaded him to abandon, or at least postpone, an enterprise of such ill augury. But the king, less superstitious, or from the obstinacy with which feeble minds, when once resolved, frequently persist in their projects, rejected their advice, and pressed forward on his march.[2]

The advance of the party was not conducted so cautiously but that it reached the ear of Don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, *alcayde de los donzeles,* or captain of the royal pages, who commanded in the town of Lucena, which he rightly judged was to be the principal object of attack. He transmitted the intelligence to his uncle the count of Cabra, a nobleman of the same name with himself, who was posted at his own town of Baena, requesting his support. He used all diligence in repairing the fortifications of the city, which, although extensive and originally strong, had fallen somewhat into decay; and, having caused such of the population as were rendered helpless by age or infirmity to withdraw into the interior defences of the place, he coolly awaited the approach of the enemy.[3]

The Moorish army, after crossing the borders, began to mark its career through the Christian

[2] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 267–271.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 60.—Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 10.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

[3] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 3, cap. 20.—The *donzeles,* of whom Diego de Cordova was alcayde, or captain, were a body of young cavaliers, originally brought up as pages in the royal household, and organized as a separate corps of the militia. Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades, p. 259.—See also Morales, Obras, tom. xiv. p. 80.

territory with the usual traces of devastation, and, sweeping across the environs of Lucena, poured a marauding foray into the rich *campiña* of Cordova, as far as the walls of Aguilar; whence it returned, glutted with spoil, to lay siege to Lucena about the 21st of April.

The count of Cabra, in the mean while, who had lost no time in mustering his levies, set forward at the head of a small but well-appointed force, consisting of both horse and foot, to the relief of his nephew. He advanced with such celerity that he had wellnigh surprised the beleaguering army. As he traversed the sierra, which covered the Moorish flank, his numbers were partially concealed by the inequalities of the ground, while the clash of arms and the shrill music, reverberating among the hills, exaggerated their real magnitude in the apprehension of the enemy. At the same time the alcayde de los donzeles supported his uncle's advance by a vigorous sally from the city. The Granadine infantry, anxious only for the preservation of their valuable booty, scarcely waited for the encounter, before they began a dastardly retreat and left the battle to the cavalry. The latter, composed, as has been said, of the strength of the Moorish chivalry, men accustomed in many a border foray to cross lances with the best knights of Andalusia, kept their ground with their wonted gallantry. The conflict, so well disputed, remained doubtful for some time, until it was determined by the death of the veteran chieftain Ali Atar, "the best lance," as a Castilian writer has styled him, "of all Morisma," who was brought to

the ground after receiving two wounds, and thus escaped by an honorable death the melancholy spectacle of his country's humiliation.[4]

The enemy, disheartened by this loss, soon began to give ground. But, though hard pressed by the Spaniards, they retreated in some order, until they reached the borders of the Xenil, which were thronged with the infantry, vainly attempting a passage across the stream, swollen by excessive rains to a height much above its ordinary level. The confusion now became universal, horse and foot mingling together: each one, heedful only of life, no longer thought of his booty. Many, attempting to swim the stream, were borne down, steed and rider, promiscuously in its waters. Many more, making scarcely a show of resistance, were cut down on the banks by the pitiless Spaniards. The young king Abdallah, who had been conspicuous during that day in the hottest of the fight, mounted on a milk-white charger richly caparisoned, saw fifty of his loyal guard fall around him. Finding his steed too much jaded to stem the current of the river, he quietly dismounted and sought a shelter among the reedy thickets that fringed its margin, until the storm of battle should have passed over. In this lurking-place, however, he was discovered by a common soldier named Martin Hurtado, who, without recognizing his person, instantly attacked him. The prince defended himself with his scimitar, until Hurtado,

[4] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 302.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1483.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 61.—Pulgar, Crónica cap. 20.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

being joined by two of his countrymen, succeeded in making him prisoner. The men, overjoyed at their prize (for Abdallah had revealed his rank, in order to secure his person from violence), conducted him to their general, the count of Cabra. The latter received the royal captive with a generous courtesy, the best sign of noble breeding, and a feature of chivalry which affords a pleasing contrast to the ferocious spirit of ancient warfare. The good count administered to the unfortunate prince all the consolations which his state would admit, and subsequently lodged him in his castle of Baena, where he was entertained with the most delicate and courtly hospitality.[5]

Nearly the whole of the Moslem cavalry were cut up, or captured, in this fatal action. Many of them were persons of rank, commanding high ransoms. The loss inflicted on the infantry was also severe, including the whole of their dear-bought plunder. Nine—or indeed, according to some accounts, two-and-twenty—banners fell into the hands of the Christians in this action; in commemoration of which the Spanish sovereigns granted to the count of Cabra, and his nephew, the alcayde de los donzeles, the privilege of bearing the same number of banners on their escutcheon, together with the head of a Moorish

[5] Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. p. 637.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 61.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 271–274.—The various details, even to the site of the battle, are told in the usual confused and contradictory manner by the garrulous chroniclers of the period. All authorities, however, both Christian and Moorish, agree as to its general results.

king, encircled by a golden coronet, with a chain of the same metal around the neck.[6]

Great was the consternation occasioned by the return of the Moorish fugitives to Granada, and loud was the lament through its populous streets; for the pride of many a noble house was laid low on that day, and their king (a thing unprecedented in the annals of the monarchy) was a prisoner in the land of the Christians. "The hostile star of Islam," exclaims an Arabic writer, "now scattered its malignant influences over Spain, and the downfall of the Mussulman empire was decreed."

The sultana Zoraya, however, was not of a temper to waste time in useless lamentation. She was aware that a captive king, who held his title by so precarious a tenure as did her son Abdallah, must soon cease to be a king even in name. She accordingly despatched a numerous embassy to Cordova, with proffers of such a ransom for the prince's liberation as a despot only could offer and few despots could have the authority to enforce.[7]

King Ferdinand, who was at Vitoria with the queen, when he received tidings of the victory of Lucena, hastened to the south to determine on the destination of his royal captive. With some show of magnanimity, he declined an interview with Abdallah until he should have consented to his liberation. A debate of some warmth occurred in the royal council at Cordova respecting the policy to be pursued; some contending that the Moorish

[6] Mendoza, Dignidades, p. 382.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 4, dial. 9.

[7] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 36.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, pp. 271–274.

monarch was too valuable a prize to be so readily relinquished, and that the enemy, broken by the loss of their natural leader, would find it difficult to rally under one common head or to concert any effective movement. Others, and especially the marquis of Cadiz, urged his release, and even the support of his pretensions against his competitor, the old king of Granada; insisting that the Moorish empire would be more effectually shaken by internal divisions than by any pressure of its enemies from without. The various arguments were submitted to the queen, who still held her court in the north, and who decided for the release of Abdallah, as a measure best reconciling sound policy with generosity to the vanquished.[8]

The terms of the treaty, although sufficiently humiliating to the Moslem prince, were not materially different from those proposed by the sultana Zoraya. It was agreed that a truce of two years should be extended to Abdallah, and to such places in Granada as acknowledged his authority; in consideration of which, he stipulated to surrender four hundred Christian captives without ransom, to pay twelve thousand doblas of gold annually to the Spanish sovereigns, and to permit a free passage, as well as furnish supplies, to their troops passing through his territories for the purpose of carrying on the war against that portion of the kingdom which still adhered to his father. Abdallah moreover bound himself to appear when

[8] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 23.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.—Charles V. does not seem to have partaken of his grandfather's delicacy in regard to an interview with his royal captive, or indeed in any part of his deportment towards him.

summoned by Ferdinand, and to surrender his own son, with the children of his principal nobility, as sureties for his fulfilment of the treaty. Thus did the unhappy prince barter away his honor and his country's freedom for the possession of immediate but most precarious sovereignty; a sovereignty which could scarcely be expected to survive the period when he could be useful to the master whose breath had made him.[9]

The terms of the treaty being thus definitely settled, an interview was arranged to take place between the two monarchs at Cordova. The Castilian courtiers would have persuaded their master to offer his hand for Abdallah to salute, in token of his feudal supremacy; but Ferdinand replied, "Were the king of Granada in his own dominions, I might do this; but not while he is a prisoner in mine." The Moorish prince entered Cordova with an escort of his own knights, and a splendid throng of Spanish chivalry, who had marched out of the city to receive him. When Abdallah entered the royal presence, he would have prostrated himself on his knees; but Ferdinand, hastening to prevent him, embraced him with every demonstration of respect. An Arabic interpreter, who acted as orator, then expatiated, in florid hyperbole, on the magnanimity and princely qualities of the Spanish king, and the loyalty and good faith of his own master. But Ferdinand interrupted his eloquence with the assurance that "his panegyric was superfluous, and that he had perfect confidence that the

[9] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 36.

sovereign of Granada would keep his faith as became a true knight and a king." After ceremonies so humiliating to the Moorish prince, notwithstanding the veil of decorum studiously thrown over them, he set out with his attendants for his capital, escorted by a body of Andalusian horse to the frontier, and loaded with costly presents by the Spanish king, and the general contempt of his court.[10]

Notwithstanding the importance of the results in the war of Granada, a detail of the successive steps by which they were achieved would be most tedious and trifling. No siege or single military achievement of great moment occurred until nearly four years from this period, in 1487; although in the intervening time a large number of fortresses and petty towns, together with a very extensive tract of territory, were recovered from the enemy. Without pursuing the chronological order of events, it is probable that the end of history will be best attained by presenting a concise view of the general policy pursued by the sovereigns in the conduct of the war.

The Moorish wars under preceding monarchs had consisted of little else than *cavalgadas,* or inroads into the enemy's territory,[11] which, pouring like a torrent over the land, swept away whatever was upon the surface, but left it in its essential resources wholly unimpaired. The bounty of

[10] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, cap. 36.

[11] The term *cavalgada* seems to be used indifferently by the ancient Spanish writers to represent a marauding party, the foray itself, or the booty taken in it.

nature soon repaired the ravages of man, and the ensuing harvest seemed to shoot up more abundantly from the soil enriched by the blood of the husbandman. A more vigorous system of spoliation was now introduced. Instead of one campaign, the army took the field in spring and autumn, intermitting its efforts only during the intolerable heats of summer, so that the green crop had no time to ripen, ere it was trodden down under the iron heel of war.

The apparatus for devastation was also on a much greater scale than had ever before been witnessed. From the second year of the war, thirty thousand foragers * were reserved for this service, which they effected by demolishing farm-houses, granaries, and mills (which last were exceedingly numerous in a land watered by many small streams), by eradicating the vines and laying waste the olive-gardens and plantations of oranges, almonds, mulberries, and all the rich varieties that grew luxuriant in this highly-favored region. This merciless devastation extended for more than two leagues on either side of the line of march. At the same time, the Mediterranean fleet cut off all supplies from the Barbary coast, so that the whole kingdom might be said to be in a state of perpetual blockade. Such and so general was the scarcity occasioned by this system, that the Moors were glad to exchange their Christian captives for provisions, until such

* [These foragers were professional destroyers. Taladores or Gastadores they were called. Their duty was to make the land a desert.—M.]

ransom was interdicted by the sovereigns, as tending to defeat their own measures.[12]

Still there was many a green and sheltered valley in Granada which yielded its returns unmolested to the Moorish husbandman; while his granaries were occasionally enriched with the produce of a border foray. The Moors, too, although naturally a luxurious people, were patient of suffering, and capable of enduring great privation. Other measures, therefore, of a still more formidable character, became necessary in conjunction with this rigorous system of blockade.

The Moorish towns were for the most part strongly defended, presenting within the limits of Granada, as has been said, more than ten times the number of fortified places that are now scattered over the whole extent of the Peninsula. They stood along the crest of some precipice or bold sierra, whose natural strength was augmented by the solid masonry with which they were surrounded, and which, however insufficient to hold out against modern artillery, bade defiance to all the enginery of battering warfare known previously to the fifteenth century. It was this strength of fortification, combined with that of their local position, which frequently enabled a slender garrison in these places to laugh to scorn all the efforts of the proudest Castilian armies.

The Spanish sovereigns were convinced that they must look to their artillery as the only effect-

[12] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 22.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 6.

ual means for the reduction of these strongholds. In this, they as well as the Moors were extremely deficient, although Spain appears to have furnished earlier examples of its use than any other country in Europe. Isabella, who seems to have had the particular control of this department, caused the most skilful engineers and artisans to be invited into the kingdom from France, Germany, and Italy. Forges were constructed in the camp, and all the requisite materials prepared for the manufacture of cannon, balls, and powder. Large quantities of the last were also imported from Sicily, Flanders, and Portugal. Commissaries were established over the various departments, with instructions to provide whatever might be necessary for the operatives; and the whole was intrusted to the supervision of Don Francisco Ramirez, an hidalgo of Madrid, a person of much experience, and extensive military science, for that day. By these efforts, unremittingly pursued during the whole of the war, Isabella assembled a train of artillery such as was probably not possessed at that time by any other European potentate.[13]

Still the clumsy construction of the ordnance betrayed the infancy of the art. More than twenty pieces of artillery used at the siege of Baza during this war are still to be seen in that city, where they long served as columns in the public market-place. The largest of the lombards, as the heavy ordnance was called, are about twelve

[13] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 32, 41.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. lib. 20, cap. 59.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 3, cap. 5.

feet in length, consisting of iron bars two inches in breadth, held together by bolts and rings of the same metal. These were firmly attached to their carriages, incapable either of horizontal or vertical movement. It was this clumsiness of construction which led Machiavelli, some thirty years after, to doubt the expediency of bringing cannon into field engagements; and he particularly recommends, in his treatise on the Art of War, that the enemy's fire should be evaded, by intervals in the ranks being left open opposite to his cannon.[14]

The balls thrown from these engines were sometimes of iron, but more usually of marble. Several hundred of the latter have been picked up in the fields around Baza, many of which are fourteen inches in diameter and weigh a hundred and seventy-five pounds. Yet this bulk, enormous as it appears, shows a considerable advance in the art since the beginning of the century, when the stone balls discharged, according to Zurita, at the siege of Balaguer, weighed not less than five hundred and fifty pounds. It was very long before the exact proportions requisite for obtaining the greatest effective force could be ascertained.[15]

The awkwardness with which their artillery was served corresponded with the rudeness of its manufacture. It is noticed as a remarkable circumstance by the chronicler, that two batteries, at the

[14] Machiavelli, Arte della Guerra, lib. 3.

[15] Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 6.—According to Gibbon, the cannon used by Mahomet in the siege of Constantinople, about thirty years before this time, threw stone balls which weighed above six hundred pounds. The measure of the bore was twelve palm. Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 68.

siege of Albahar, discharged one hundred and forty balls in the course of a day.[16] Besides this more usual kind of ammunition, the Spaniards threw from their engines large globular masses composed of certain inflammable ingredients mixed with gunpowder, "which, scattering long trains of light," says an eye-witness, "in their passage through the air, filled the beholders with dismay, and, descending on the roofs of the edifices, frequently occasioned extensive conflagration."[17]

The transportation of their bulky engines was not the least of the difficulties which the Spaniards had to encounter in this war. The Moorish fortresses were frequently intrenched in the depths of some mountain labyrinth, whose rugged passes were scarcely accessible to cavalry. An immense body of pioneers, therefore, was constantly employed in constructing roads for the artillery across these sierras, by levelling the mountains,

[16] Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 6.—We get a more precise notion of the awkwardness with which the artillery was served in the infancy of the science, from a fact recorded in the Chronicle of John II., that at the siege of Setenil, in 1407, five lombards were able to discharge only forty shot in the course of a day. We have witnessed an invention in our time, that of our ingenious countryman Jacob Perkins, by which a gun, with the aid of that miracle-worker, steam, is enabled to throw a thousand bullets in a single minute.*

[17] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 174.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 44.—Some writers, as the Abbé Mignot (Histoire des Rois Catholiques Ferdinand et Isabelle (Paris, 1766), tom. i. p. 273), have referred the invention of bombs to the siege of Ronda. I find no authority for this. Pulgar's words are, "They made many iron balls, large and small, some of which they cast in a mould, having reduced the iron to a state of fusion, so that it would run like any other metal."

* [The machine guns invented since that paragraph was penned have almost revolutionized the art of war.—M.]

filling up the intervening valleys with rocks, or with cork-trees and other timber that grew prolific in the wilderness, and throwing bridges across the torrents and precipitous *barrancos*. Pulgar had the curiosity to examine one of the causeways thus constructed, preparatory to the siege of Cambil, which, although six thousand pioneers were constantly employed in the work, was attended with such difficulty that it advanced only three leagues in twelve days. It required, says the historian, the entire demolition of one of the most rugged parts of the sierra, which no one could have believed practicable by human industry.[18]

The Moorish garrisons, perched on their mountain fastnesses, which, like the eyry of some bird of prey, seemed almost inaccessible to man, beheld with astonishment the heavy trains of artillery emerging from the passes where the foot of the hunter had scarcely been known to venture. The walls which encompassed their cities, although lofty, were not of sufficient thickness to withstand long the assaults of these formidable engines. The Moors were deficient in heavy ordnance. The weapons on which they chiefly relied for annoying the enemy at a distance were the arquebuse and cross-bow, with the last of which they were unerring marksmen, being trained to it from infancy. They adopted a custom, rarely met with in civilized nations of any age, of poisoning their arrows; distilling for this purpose the juice of aconite, or wolfsbane, which grew rife in the *Sierra Nevada,*

[18] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 51.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 82.

or Snowy Mountains, near Granada. A piece of linen or cotton cloth steeped in this decoction was wrapped round the point of the weapon, and the wound inflicted by it, however trivial in appearance, was sure to be mortal. Indeed, a Spanish writer, not content with this, imputes such malignity to the virus, that a drop of it, as he asserts, mingling with the blood oozing from a wound, would ascend the stream into the vein, and diffuse its fatal influence over the whole system![19]

Ferdinand, who appeared at the head of his armies throughout the whole of this war, pursued a sagacious policy in reference to the beleaguered cities. He was ever ready to meet the first overtures to surrender, in the most liberal spirit; granting protection of person, and such property as the besieged could transport with them, and assigning them a residence, if they preferred it, in his own dominions. Many, in consequence of this, migrated to Seville and other cities of Andalusia, where they were settled on estates which had been confiscated by the inquisitors; who looked forward, no doubt, with satisfaction to the time when they should be permitted to thrust their sickle into the new crop of heresy whose seeds were thus sown amid the ashes of the old one. Those who preferred to remain in the conquered Moorish territory, as Castilian subjects, were permitted the free enjoyment of personal rights and property, as well as of their religion; and such was the

[19] Mendoza, Guerra de Granada (Valencia, 1776), pp. 73, 74.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. lib. 20, cap. 59.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 168.—According to Mendoza, a decoction of the quince furnished the most effectual antidote known against this poison.

fidelity with which Ferdinand redeemed his engagements during the war, by the punishment of the least infraction of them by his own people, that many, particularly of the Moorish peasantry, preferred abiding in their early homes to removing to Granada or other places of the Moslem dominion. It was perhaps a counterpart of the same policy which led Ferdinand to chastise any attempt at revolt on the part of his new Moorish subjects, the Mudejares, as they were called, with an unsparing rigor which merits the reproach of cruelty. Such was the military execution inflicted on the rebellious town of Benemaquez, where he commanded one hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants to be hung above the walls, and, after consigning the rest of the population, men, women, and children, to slavery, caused the place to be razed to the ground. The humane policy usually pursued by Ferdinand seems to have had a more favorable effect on his enemies, who were exasperated, rather than intimidated, by this ferocious act of vengeance.[20]

The magnitude of the other preparations corresponded with those for the ordnance department. The amount of forces assembled at Cordova we find variously stated at ten and twelve thousand horse, and twenty and even forty thousand foot, exclusive of foragers. On one occasion, the whole

[20] Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 304.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 4, cap. 2.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 76.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.—Pulgar, who is by no means bigoted for the age, seems to think the liberal terms granted by Ferdinand to the enemies of the faith stand in need of perpetual apology. See Reyes Católicos, cap. 44 et passim.

number, including men for the artillery service and the followers of the camp, is reckoned at eighty thousand. The same number of beasts of burden were employed in transporting the supplies required for this immense host, as well as for provisioning the conquered cities standing in the midst of a desolated country. The queen, who took this department under her special cognizance, moved along the frontier, stationing herself at points most contiguous to the scene of operations. There, by means of posts regularly established, she received hourly intelligence of the war. At the same time she transmitted the requisite munitions for the troops, by means of convoys sufficiently strong to secure them against the irruptions of the wily enemy.[21]

Isabella, solicitous for everything that concerned the welfare of her people, sometimes visited the camp in person, encouraging the soldiers to endure the hardships of war, and relieving their necessities by liberal donations of clothes and money. She caused also a number of large tents, known as "the queen's hospitals," to be always reserved for the sick and wounded, and furnished them with the requisite attendants and medicines, at her own charge. This is considered the earliest attempt at the formation of a regular camp hospital, on record.[22]

Isabella may be regarded as the soul of this war. She engaged in it with the most exalted views, less

[21] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 75.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 21, 33, 42.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 8, cap. 6.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 13.

[22] Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 6.

to acquire territory than to re-establish the empire of the Cross over the ancient domain of Christendom. On this point she concentrated all the energies of her powerful mind, never suffering herself to be diverted by any subordinate interest from this one great and glorious object. When the king, in 1484, would have paused a while from the Granadine war, in order to prosecute his claims to Roussillon against the French, after the death of Louis the Eleventh, Isabella strongly objected to it; but, finding her remonstrance ineffectual, she left her husband in Aragon, and repaired to Cordova, where she placed the cardinal of Spain at the head of the army, and prepared to open the campaign in the usual vigorous manner. Here, however, she was soon joined by Ferdinand, who, on a cooler revision of the subject, deemed it prudent to postpone his projected enterprise.

On another occasion, in the same year, when the nobles, fatigued with the service, had persuaded the king to retire earlier than usual, the queen, dissatisfied with the proceeding, addressed a letter to her husband, in which, after representing the disproportion of the results to the preparations, she besought him to keep the field as long as the season should serve. "The grandees," says Lebrija, "mortified at being surpassed in zeal for the holy war by a woman, eagerly collected their forces, which had been partly disbanded, and returned across the borders to renew hostilities." [23]

A circumstance which had frequently frustrated

[23] Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 3, cap. 6.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 31.

the most magnificent military enterprises under former reigns was the factions of these potent vassals, who, independent of each other, and almost of the crown, could rarely be brought to act in efficient concert for a length of time, and broke up the camp on the slightest personal jealousy. Ferdinand experienced something of this temper in the duke of Medina Celi, who, when he had received orders to detach a corps of his troops to the support of the count of Benavente, refused, replying to the messenger, " Tell your master that I came here to serve him at the head of my household troops, and they go nowhere without me as their leader." The sovereigns managed this fiery spirit with the greatest address, and, instead of curbing it, endeavored to direct it in the path of honorable emulation. The queen, who as their hereditary sovereign received a more deferential homage from her Castilian subjects than Ferdinand, frequently wrote to her nobles in the camp, complimenting some on their achievements, and others less fortunate on their intentions, thus cheering the hearts of all, says the chronicler, and stimulating them to deeds of heroism. On the most deserving she freely lavished those honors which cost little to the sovereign but are most grateful to the subject. The marquis of Cadiz, who was pre-eminent above every other captain in this war for sagacity and conduct, was rewarded after his brilliant surprise of Zahara with the gift of that city, and the titles of marquis of Zahara and duke of Cadiz. The warrior, however, was unwilling to resign the ancient title under which

he had won his laurels, and ever after subscribed himself marquis duke of Cadiz.[24] Still more emphatic honors were conferred on the count de Cabra, after the capture of the king of Granada. When he presented himself before the sovereigns, who were at Vitoria, the clergy and cavaliers of the city marched out to receive him, and he entered in solemn procession on the right hand of the grand cardinal of Spain. As he advanced up the hall of audience in the royal palace, the king and queen came forward to welcome him, and then seated him by themselves at table, declaring that "the conqueror of kings should sit with kings." These honors were followed by the more substantial gratuity of a hundred thousand maravedis annual rent; "a fat donative," says an old chronicler, "for so lean a treasury." The young alcayde de los donzeles experienced a similar reception on the ensuing day. Such acts of royal condescension were especially grateful to the nobility of a court circumscribed beyond every other in Europe by stately and ceremonious etiquette.[25]

The duration of the war of Granada was such as to raise the militia throughout the kingdom nearly to a level with regular troops. Many of these levies, indeed, at the breaking out of the war, might pretend to this character. Such were those furnished by the Andalusian cities, which

[24] After another daring achievement, the sovereigns granted him and his heirs the royal suit worn by the monarchs of Castile on Lady-day; a present, says Abarca, not to be estimated by its cost.—Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 303.

[25] Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, ubi supra.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 1, epist. 41.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 68.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 58.

had been long accustomed to skirmishes with their Moslem neighbors. Such, too, was the well-appointed chivalry of the military orders, and the organized militia of the hermandad, which we find sometimes supplying a body of ten thousand men for the service. To these may be added the splendid throng of cavaliers and hidalgos, who swelled the retinues of the sovereigns and the great nobility. The king was attended in battle by a body-guard of a thousand knights, one half light and the other half heavy armed, all superbly equipped and mounted, and trained to arms from childhood under the royal eye.

Although the burden of the war bore most heavily on Andalusia, from its contiguity to the scene of action, yet recruits were drawn in abundance from the most remote provinces, as Galicia, Biscay, and the Asturias, from Aragon, and even the transmarine dominions of Sicily. The sovereigns did not disdain to swell their ranks with levies of a humbler description, by promising an entire amnesty to those malefactors who had left the country in great numbers of late years to escape justice, on condition of their serving in the Moorish war. Throughout this motley host the strictest discipline and decorum were maintained. The Spaniards have never been disposed to intemperance; but the passion for gaming, especially with dice, to which they seem to have been immoderately addicted at that day, was restrained by the severest penalties.[26]

[26] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 31, 67, 69.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 2, cap. 10.

The brilliant successes of the Spanish sovereigns diffused general satisfaction throughout Christendom, and volunteers flocked to the camp from France, England, and other parts of Europe, eager to participate in the glorious triumphs of the Cross. Among these was a corps of Swiss mercenaries, who are thus simply described by Pulgar: "There joined the royal standard a body of men from Switzerland, a country in upper Germany. These men were bold of heart, and fought on foot. As they were resolved never to turn their backs upon the enemy, they wore no defensive armor, except in front; by which means they were less encumbered in fight. They made a trade of war, letting themselves out as mercenaries; but they espoused only a just quarrel, for they were devout and loyal Christians, and above all abhorred rapine as a great sin."[27] The Swiss had recently established their military renown by the discomfiture of Charles the Bold, when they first proved the superiority of infantry over the best-appointed chivalry of Europe. Their example no doubt contributed to the formation of that invincible Spanish infantry, which under the Great Captain and his successors, may be said to have decided the fate of Christendom for more than half a century.

Among the foreigners was one from the distant isle of Britain, the earl of Rivers, or conde de Escalas, as he is called from his patronymic, Scales,* by the Spanish writers. "There came

[27] Reyes Católicos, cap. 21.

* [The family name, as few readers of English history will need to be reminded, was not Scales, but Widvile, Wydevile, often mod-

from Britain," says Peter Martyr, "a cavalier, young, wealthy, and high-born. He was allied to the blood royal of England. He was attended by a beautiful train of household troops, three hundred in number, armed after the fashion of their land with long-bow and battle-axe." This nobleman particularly distinguished himself by his gallantry in the second siege of Loja, in 1486. Having asked leave to fight after the manner of his country, says the Andalusian chronicler, he dismounted from his good steed, and, putting himself at the head of his followers, armed like himself *en blanco*, with their swords at their thighs, and battle-axes in their hands, he dealt such terrible blows around him as filled even the hardy mountaineers of the north with astonishment. Unfortunately, just as the suburbs were carried, the good knight, as he was mounting a scaling-ladder, received a blow from a stone, which dashed out two of his teeth and stretched him senseless on the ground. He was removed to his tent, where he lay some time under medical treatment; and, when he had sufficiently recovered, he received a visit from the king and queen, who complimented him on his prowess and testified their sympathy for his misfortune. "It is little," replied he, "to lose a few teeth in the service of Him who has given me all. Our Lord," he added, "who reared

ernized as Woodville; and the person mentioned in the text, Sir Edward Widvile, had no claim to the designation either of Earl Rivers or Lord Scales, the former title having passed to his brother Richard, and the latter having fallen into abeyance on the death, without issue, in 1843, of the most famous member of the family, Anthony Widvile, the second earl.—K.]

this fabric, has only opened a window, in order to discern the more readily what passes within." A facetious response, says Peter Martyr, which gave uncommon satisfaction to the sovereigns.[28]

The queen, not long after, testified her sense of the earl's services by a magnificent largess, consisting, among other things of twelve Andalusian horses, two couches with richly-wrought hangings and coverings of cloth of gold, with a quantity of fine linen, and sumptuous pavilions for himself and suite. The brave knight seems to have been satisfied with this taste of the Moorish wars; for he soon after returned to England, and in 1488 passed over to France, where his hot spirit prompted him to take part in the feudal factions of that country, in which he lost his life, fighting for the duke of Brittany.[29]

The pomp with which the military movements were conducted in these campaigns gave the scene rather the air of a court pageant than that of the stern array of war. The war was one which, appealing both to principles of religion and patriotism, was well calculated to inflame the imaginations of the young Spanish cavaliers; and they poured into the field, eager to display themselves under the eye of their illustrious queen, who, as she rode through the ranks mounted on her war-horse and clad in complete mail, afforded no bad personification of the genius of chivalry. The potent and wealthy barons exhibited in the camp all the

[28] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 1, epist. 62.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 78.

[29] Guillaume de Ialigny Histoire de Charles VIII. (Paris, 1617), pp. 90–94.

magnificence of princes. The pavilions, decorated with various-colored pennons, and emblazoned with the armorial bearings of their ancient houses, shone with a splendor which a Castilian writer likens to that of the city of Seville.[30] They always appeared surrounded by a throng of pages in gorgeous liveries, and at night were preceded by a multitude of torches, which shed a radiance like that of day. They vied with each other in the costliness of their apparel, equipage, and plate, and in the variety and delicacy of the dainties with which their tables were covered.[31]

Ferdinand and Isabella saw with regret this lavish ostentation, and privately remonstrated with some of the principal grandees on its evil tendency, especially in seducing the inferior and poorer nobility into expenditures beyond their means. This Sybarite indulgence, however, does not seem to have impaired the martial spirit of the nobles. On all occasions they contended with each other for the post of danger. The duke del Infantado, the head of the powerful house of Mendoza, was conspicuous above all for the magnificence of his train. At the siege of Illora, 1486, he obtained permission to lead the storming party. As his followers pressed onwards to the breach, they were received with such a shower of missiles as made them falter for a moment. "What, my men," cried he, "do you fail me at this hour? Shall we

[30] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 75.—This city, even before the New World had poured its treasures into its lap, was conspicuous for its magnificence, as the ancient proverb testifies. Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 183.

[31] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 41.

be taunted with bearing more finery on our backs than courage in our hearts? Let us not, in God's name, be laughed at as mere holiday soldiers!" His vassals, stung by this rebuke, rallied, and, penetrating the breach, carried the place by the fury of their assault.[32]

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the sovereigns against this ostentation of luxury, they were not wanting in the display of royal state and magnificence on all suitable occasions. The Curate of Los Palacios has expatiated with elaborate minuteness on the circumstances of an interview between Ferdinand and Isabella in the camp before Moclin, in 1486, where the queen's presence was solicited for the purpose of devising a plan of future operations. A few of the par-

[32] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 59.—This nobleman, whose name was Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, was son of the first duke, Diego Hurtado, who supported Isabella's claims to the crown. Oviedo was present at the siege of Ilora, and gives a minute description of his appearance there. "He came," says that writer, "attended by a numerous body of cavaliers and gentlemen, as befitted so great a lord. He displayed all the luxuries which belong to a time of peace; and his tables, which were carefully served, were loaded with rich and curiously wrought plate, of which he had a greater profusion than any other grandee in the kingdom." In another place he says, "The duke Iñigo was a perfect Alexander for his liberality, in all his actions princely, maintaining unbounded hospitality among his numerous vassals and dependents, and beloved throughout Spain. His palaces were garnished with the most costly tapestries, jewels, and rich stuffs of gold and silver. His chapel was filled with accomplished singers and musicians; his falcons, hounds, and his whole hunting establishment, including a magnificent stud of horses, were not to be matched by those of any other nobleman in the kingdom. Of the truth of all which," concludes Oviedo, "I myself have been an eye-witness, and enough others can testify." See Oviedo (Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1 dial. 8), who has given the genealogy of the Mendozas and Mendozinos, in all its endless ramifications.

ticulars may be transcribed, though at the hazard of appearing trivial to readers who take little interest in such details.

On the borders of the Yeguas, the queen was met by an advanced corps, under the command of the marquis duke of Cadiz, and, at the distance of a league and a half from Moclin, by the duke del Infantado, with the principal nobility and their vassals, splendidly accoutred. On the left of the road was drawn up in battle-array the militia of Seville, and the queen, making her obeisance to the banner of that illustrious city, ordered it to pass to her right. The successive battalions saluted the queen as she advanced, by lowering their standards, and the joyous multitude announced with tumultuous acclamations her approach to the conquered city.

The queen was accompanied by her daughter, the infanta Isabella, and a courtly train of damsels, mounted on mules richly caparisoned. The queen herself rode a chestnut mule, seated on a saddle-chair embossed with gold and silver. The housings were of a crimson color, and the bridle was of satin, curiously wrought with letters of gold. The infanta wore a skirt of fine velvet, over others of brocade, a scarlet mantilla of the Moorish fashion, and a black hat trimmed with gold embroidery. The king rode forward at the head of his nobles to receive them. He was dressed in a crimson doublet, with *chausses,* or breeches, of yellow satin. Over his shoulders was thrown a cassock or mantle of rich brocade, and a sporavest of the same material concealed his cuirass. By

his side, close girt, he wore a Moorish scimitar, and beneath his bonnet his hair was confined by a cap or head-dress of the finest stuff.

Ferdinand was mounted on a noble war-horse of a bright chestnut color. In the splendid train of chivalry which attended him, Bernaldez dwells with much satisfaction on the English lord Scales. He was followed by a retinue of five pages arrayed in costly liveries. He was sheathed in complete mail, over which was thrown a French surcoat of dark silk brocade. A buckler was attached by golden clasps to his arm, and on his head he wore a white French hat with plumes. The caparisons of his steed were azure silk, lined with violet and sprinkled over with stars of gold, and swept the ground, as he managed his fiery courser with an easy horsemanship that excited general admiration.

The king and queen, as they drew near, bowed thrice with formal reverence to each other. The queen at the same time, raising her hat, remained in her coif or head-dress, with her face uncovered; Ferdinand, riding up, kissed her affectionately on the cheek, and then, according to the precise chronicler, bestowed a similar mark of tenderness on his daughter Isabella, after giving her his paternal benediction. The royal party were then escorted to the camp, where suitable accommodations had been provided for the queen and her fair retinue.[33]

[33] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 80.—The lively author of "A Year in Spain" describes, among other suits of armor still to be seen in the museum of the armory at Madrid, those worn by Ferdinand and his illustrious consort: "In one of the most conspicuous stations is the suit of armor usually worn by Ferdinand the Catholic.

It may readily be believed that the sovereigns did not neglect, in a war like the present, an appeal to the religious principle so deeply seated in the Spanish character. All their public acts ostentatiously proclaimed the pious nature of the work in which they were engaged. They were attended in their expeditions by churchmen of the highest rank, who not only mingled in the councils of the camp, but, like the bold bishop of Jaen, or the grand cardinal Mendoza, buckled on harness over rochet and hood, and led their squadrons to the field.[34] The queen at Cordova celebrated the tidings of every new success over the infidel, by solemn procession and thanksgiving, with her whole household, as well as the nobility, foreign ambassadors, and municipal functionaries. In like manner, Ferdinand, on the return from his campaigns, was received at the gates of the city, and escorted in solemn pomp beneath a rich canopy of state to the cathedral church, where he prostrated himself in grateful adoration of the Lord of hosts. Intelligence of their triumphant progress in the war was constantly transmitted to

He seems snugly seated upon his war-horse, with a pair of red velvet breeches, after the manner of the Moors, with lifted lance and closed visor. There are several suits of Ferdinand and of his queen Isabella, who was no stranger to the dangers of a battle. By the comparative heights of the armor, Isabella would seem to be the bigger of the two, as she certainly was the better." A Year in Spain, by a Young American (Boston, 1829), p. 116. [Alexander Slidell Mackenzie.—M.]

[34] Cardinal Mendoza, in the campaign of 1485, offered the queen to raise a body of 3000 horse and march at its head to the relief of Alhama, and at the same time to supply her with such sums of money as might be necessary in the present exigency. Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 50.

the pope, who returned his benediction, accompanied by more substantial marks of favor, in bulls of crusade, and taxes on ecclesiastical rents.[35]

The ceremonials observed on the occupation of a new conquest were such as to affect the heart no less than the imagination. "The royal *alferez,*" says Marineo, "raised the standard of the Cross, the sign of our salvation, on the summit of the principal fortress; and all who beheld it prostrated themselves on their knees in silent worship of the Almighty, while the priests chanted the glorious anthem, *Te Deum laudamus.* The ensign or pennon of St. James, the chivalric patron of Spain, was then unfolded, and all invoked his blessed name. Lastly, was displayed the banner of the sovereigns, emblazoned with the royal arms; at which the whole army shouted forth, as if with one voice, 'Castile, Castile!' After these solemnities, a bishop led the way to the principal mosque, which, after the rites of purification, he consecrated to the service of the true faith."

The standard of the Cross above referred to was of massive silver, and was a present from Pope Sixtus the Fourth to Ferdinand, in whose tent it was always carried throughout these campaigns. An ample supply of bells, vases, missals, plate, and other sacred furniture, was also borne along with the camp, being provided by the queen for the purified mosques.[36]

[35] In 1486 we find Ferdinand and Isabella performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 86.

[36] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 173.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 82, 87.

The most touching part of the incidents usually occurring at the surrender of a Moorish city was the liberation of the Christian captives immured in its dungeons. On the capture of Ronda, in 1485, more than four hundred of these unfortunate persons, several of them cavaliers of rank, some of whom had been taken in the fatal expedition of the Axarquia, were restored to the light of heaven. On being brought before Ferdinand, they prostrated themselves on the ground, bathing his feet with tears, while their wan and wasted figures, their dishevelled locks, their beards reaching down to their girdles, and their limbs loaded with heavy manacles, brought tears into the eye of every spectator. They were then commanded to present themselves before the queen at Cordova, who liberally relieved their necessities, and, after the celebration of public thanksgiving, caused them to be conveyed to their own homes. The fetters of the liberated captives were suspended in the churches, where they continued to be revered by succeeding generations as the trophies of Christian warfare.[37]

Ever since the victory of Lucena, the sovereigns had made it a capital point of their policy to foment the dissensions of their enemies. The young king Abdallah, after his humiliating treaty with Ferdinand, lost whatever consideration he had previously possessed. Although the sultana Zoraya, by her personal address, and the lavish distribution of the royal treasures, contrived to

[37] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 47.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 75.

maintain a faction for her son, the better classes of his countrymen despised him as a renegade and a vassal of the Christian king. As their old monarch had become incompetent, from increasing age and blindness, to the duties of his station in these perilous times, they turned their eyes on his brother Abdallah, surnamed El Zagal, or "the Valiant," who had borne so conspicuous a part in the rout of the Axarquia. The Castilians depict this chief in the darkest colors of ambition and cruelty; but the Moslem writers afford no such intimation, and his advancement to the throne at that crisis seems to be in some measure justified by his eminent talents as a military leader.

On his way to Granada, he encountered and cut to pieces a body of Calatrava knights from Alhama, and signalized his entrance into his new capital by bearing along the bloody trophies of heads dangling from his saddle-bow, after the barbarous fashion long practised in these wars.[38]

[38] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 37.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 276, 281, 282.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 304.

"El enjaeza el caballo
De las cabezas de fama,"

says one of the old Moorish ballads. A garland of Christian heads seems to have been deemed no unsuitable present from a Moslem knight to his lady-love. Thus one of the Zegris triumphantly asks,

"¿Que Cristianos habeis muerto
O escalado que murallas?
¿O que cabezas famosas
Aveis presentado a damas?"

This sort of trophy was also borne by the Christian cavaliers. Examples of this may be found even as late as the siege of Granada. See, among others, the ballad beginning

"A vista de los dos Reyes."

It was observed that the old king Abul Hacen did not long survive his brother's accession.[39] The young king Abdallah sought the protection of the Castilian sovereigns in Seville, who, true to their policy, sent him back into his own dominions with the means of making headway against his rival. The *alfakis* and other considerable persons of Granada, scandalized at these fatal feuds, effected a reconciliation on the basis of a division of the kingdom between the parties. But wounds so deep could not be permanently healed. The site of the Moorish capital was most propitious to the purposes of faction. It covered two swelling eminences, divided from each other by the deep waters of the Darro. The two factions possessed themselves respectively of these opposite quarters. Abdallah was not ashamed to strengthen himself by the aid of Christian mercenaries; and a dreadful conflict was carried on for fifty days and nights within the city, which swam with the blood that should have been shed only in its defence.[40]

[39] The Arabic historian alludes to the vulgar report of the old king's assassination by his brother, but leaves us in the dark in regard to his own opinion of its credibility: "Algunos dicen que le procuro la muerte su hermano el Rey Zagal; pero Dios lo sabe, que es el unico eterno e inmutable."—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 38.

[40] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 38.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, pp. 291, 292.—Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. 25, cap. 9.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

"Muy revuelta anda Granada
en armas y fuego ardiendo,
y los ciudadanos de ella
duras muertes padeciendo;

Notwithstanding these auxiliary circumstances, the progress of the Christians was comparatively slow. Every cliff seemed to be crowned with a fortress; and every fortress was defended with the desperation of men willing to bury themselves under its ruins. The old men, women, and children, on occasion of a siege, were frequently despatched to Granada. Such was the resolution, or rather ferocity, of the Moors, that Malaga closed its gates against the fugitives from Alora, after its surrender, and even massacred some of them in cold blood. The eagle eye of El Zagal seemed to take in at a glance the whole extent of his little territory, and to detect every vulnerable point in his antagonist, whom he encountered where he least expected it, cutting off his convoys, surprising his foraging parties, and retaliating by a devastating inroad on the borders.[41]

No effectual and permanent resistance, however, could be opposed to the tremendous enginery of the Christians. Tower and town fell before it. Besides the principal towns of Cartama, Coin, Setenil, Ronda, Marbella, Illora, termed by the Moors "the right eye," Moclin, "the shield" of Granada, and Loja, after a second and desperate

Por tres reyes que hay esquivos,
cada uno pretendiendo
el mando, cetro y corona
de Granada y su gobierno," etc.

See this old *romance,* mixing up fact and fiction, with more of the former than usual, in Hita, Guerras de Granada, tom. i. p. 292.

[41] Among other achievements, Zagal surprised and beat the count of Cabra in a night attack upon Moclin, and wellnigh retaliated on that nobleman his capture of the Moorish king Abdallah. Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 48.

siege in the spring of 1486, Bernaldez enumerates more than seventy subordinate places in the Val de Cartama, and thirteen others after the fall of Marbella. Thus the Spaniards advanced their line of conquest more than twenty leagues beyond the western frontier of Granada. This extensive tract they strongly fortified, and peopled partly with Christian subjects and partly with Moorish, the original occupants of the soil, who were secured in the possession of their ancient lands, under their own law.[42]

Thus the strong posts which might be regarded as the exterior defences of the city of Granada were successively carried. A few positions alone remained of sufficient strength to keep the enemy at bay. The most considerable of these was Malaga, which from its maritime situation afforded facilities for a communication with the Barbary Moors, that the vigilance of the Castilian cruisers could not entirely intercept. On this point, therefore, it was determined to concentrate all the strength of the monarchy, by sea and land, in the ensuing campaign of 1487.

Two of the most important authorities for the war of Granada are Fernando del Pulgar and Antonio de Lebrija, or Nebrissensis, as he is called from the Latin *Nebrissa*.

Few particulars have been preserved respecting the biography of the former. He was probably a native of Pulgar, near Toledo. The Castilian writers recognize certain provincialisms in his style belonging to that district. He was secretary to Henry IV., and was charged with various confidential functions by him. He seems to have retained his place on the accession of Isabella, by whom he was

[42] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 75.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos. cap. 48.—Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 3, cap. 5, 7; lib. 4, cap. 2, 3.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12.

appointed national historiographer in 1482, when, from certain remarks in his letters, it would appear he was already advanced in years. This office, in the fifteenth century, comprehended, in addition to the more obvious duties of an historian, the intimate and confidential relations of a private secretary. "It was the business of the chronicler," says Bernaldez, "to carry on foreign correspondence in the service of his master, acquainting himself with whatever was passing in other courts and countries, and, by the discreet and conciliatory tenor of his epistles, to allay such feuds as might arise between the king and his nobility, and establish harmony between them." From this period Pulgar remained near the royal person, accompanying the queen in her various progresses through the kingdom, as well as in her military expeditions into the Moorish territory. He was consequently an eye-witness of many of the warlike scenes which he describes, and, from his situation at the court, had access to the most ample and accredited sources of information. It is probable he did not survive the capture of Granada, as his history stops somewhat short of that event. Pulgar's Chronicle, in the portion containing a retrospective survey of events previous to 1482, may be charged with gross inaccuracy; but in all the subsequent period it may be received as perfectly authentic, and has all the air of impartiality. Every circumstance relating to the conduct of the war is developed with equal fulness and precision. His manner of narration, though prolix, is perspicuous, and may compare favorably with that of contemporary writers. His sentiments may compare still more advantageously, in point of liberality, with those of the Castilian historians of a later age.

Pulgar left some other works, of which his commentary on the ancient satire of "Mingo Revulgo," his "Letters," and his "Claros Varones," or sketches of illustrious men, have alone been published. The last contains notices of the most distinguished individuals of the court of Henry IV., which, although too indiscriminately encomiastic, are valuable subsidiaries to an accurate acquaintance with the prominent actors of the period. The last and most elegant edition of Pulgar's Chronicle was published at Valencia in 1780, from the press of Benito Montfort, in large folio.

Antonio de Lebrija was one of the most active and erudite scholars of this period. He was born in the province of Andalusia, in 1444. After the usual discipline at Salamanca, he went at the age of nineteen to Italy, where he completed his education in the university of Bologna. He returned to Spain ten years after, richly stored with classical learning and the liberal arts that were then taught in the flourishing schools of Italy. He lost no time in dispensing to his countrymen his various acquisitions. He was appointed to the two chairs of grammar and poetry (a thing unprecedented) in the university of Salamanca, and lectured at the same time in these distinct departments. He was subsequently preferred by Cardinal Ximenes

to a professorship in his university of Alcalá de Henares, where his services were liberally requited, and where he enjoyed the entire confidence of his distinguished patron, who consulted him on all matters affecting the interests of the institution. Here he continued, delivering his lectures and expounding the ancient classics to crowded audiences, to the advanced age of seventy-eight, when he was carried off by an attack of apoplexy.

Lebrija, besides his oral tuition, composed works on a great variety of subjects, philological, historical, theological, etc. His emendation of the sacred text was visited with the censure of the Inquisition, a circumstance which will not operate to his prejudice with posterity. Lebrija was far from being circumscribed by the narrow sentiments of his age. He was warmed with a generous enthusiasm for letters, which kindled a corresponding flame in the bosoms of his disciples, among whom may be reckoned some of the brightest names in the literary annals of the period. His instruction effected for classical literature in Spain what the labors of the great Italian scholars of the fifteenth century did for it in their country; and he was rewarded with the substantial gratitude of his own age, and such empty honors as could be rendered by posterity. For very many years the anniversary of his death was commemorated by public services and a funeral panegyric in the university of Alcalá.

The circumstances attending the composition of his Latin Chronicle, so often quoted in this history, are very curious. Carbajal says that he delivered Pulgar's Chronicle, after that writer's death, into Lebrija's hands for the purpose of being translated into Latin. The latter proceeded in his task as far as the year 1486. His history, however, can scarcely be termed a translation, since, although it takes up the same thread of incident, it is diversified by many new ideas and particular facts. This unfinished performance was found among Lebrija's papers after his decease, with a preface containing not a word of acknowledgment to Pulgar. It was accordingly published for the first time, in 1545 (the edition referred to in this history), by his son Sancho, as an original production of his father. Twenty years after, the first edition of Pulgar's original Chronicle was published at Valladolid, from the copy which belonged to Lebrija, by his grandson Antonio. This work appeared also as Lebrija's. Copies, however, of Pulgar's Chronicle were preserved in several private libraries; and two years later, 1567, his just claims were vindicated by an edition at Saragossa, inscribed with his name as its author.

Lebrija's reputation has sustained some injury from this transaction, though most undeservedly. It seems probable that he adopted Pulgar's text as the basis of his own, intending to continue the narrative to a later period. His unfinished manuscript being found among his papers after his death, without reference to any authority,

was naturally enough given to the world as entirely his production. It is more strange that Pulgar's own Chronicle, subsequently printed as Lebrija's, should have contained no allusion to its real author. The history, although composed, so far as it goes, with sufficient elaboration and pomp of style, is one that adds, on the whole, but little to the fame of Lebrija. It was at best but adding a leaf to the laurel on his brow, and was certainly not worth a plagiarism.

CHAPTER XII

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM—INQUISITION IN ARAGON

1483–1487

Isabella enforces the Laws—Punishment of Ecclesiastics—Inquisition in Aragon—Remonstrances of the Cortes—Conspiracy—Assassination of the Inquisitor Arbues—Cruel Persecutions—Inquisition throughout Ferdinand's Dominions

IN such intervals of leisure as occurred amid their military operations, Ferdinand and Isabella were diligently occupied with the interior government of the kingdom, and especially with the rigid administration of justice, the most difficult of all duties in an imperfectly civilized state of society. The queen found especial demand for this in the northern provinces, whose rude inhabitants were little used to subordination. She compelled the great nobles to lay aside their arms and refer their disputes to legal arbitration. She caused a number of the fortresses, which were still garrisoned by the baronial banditti, to be razed to the ground; and she enforced the utmost severity of the law against such inferior criminals as violated the public peace.[1]

Even ecclesiastical immunities, which proved so

[1] Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, iii. lib. 1, cap. 10.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 3, cap. 27, 39, 67, et alibi.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 175.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 348.

effectual a protection in most countries at this period, were not permitted to screen the offender. A remarkable instance of this occurred at the city of Truxillo, in 1486. An inhabitant of that place had been committed to prison for some offence by order of the civil magistrate. Certain priests, relations of the offender, alleged that his religious profession exempted him from all but ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, as the authorities refused to deliver him up, they inflamed the populace to such a degree, by their representations of the insult offered to the church, that they rose in a body, and, forcing the prison, set at liberty not only the malefactor in question, but all those confined there. The queen no sooner heard of this outrage on the royal authority than she sent a detachment of her guard to Truxillo, which secured the persons of the principal rioters, some of whom were capitally punished, while the ecclesiastics who had stirred up the sedition were banished the realm. Isabella, while by her example she inculcated the deepest reverence for the sacred profession, uniformly resisted every attempt from that quarter to encroach on the royal prerogative. The tendency of her administration was decidedly, as there will be occasion more particularly to notice, to abridge the authority which the clergy had exercised in civil matters under preceding reigns.[2]

[2] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 66.—A pertinent example of this occurred, December, 1485, at Alcalá de Henares, where the court was detained during the illness of the queen, who there gave birth to her youngest child, Doña Catalina, afterwards so celebrated in English history as Catharine of Aragon. A collision took place in this city between the royal judges and those of the archbishop of Toledo, to

Nothing of interest occurred in the foreign relations of the kingdom during the period embraced by the preceding chapter, except perhaps the marriage of Catharine, the young queen of Navarre, with Jean d'Albret, a French nobleman, whose extensive hereditary domains, in the southwest corner of France, lay adjacent to her kingdom. (1484.) This connection was extremely distasteful to the Spanish sovereigns, and indeed to many of the Navarrese, who were desirous of the alliance with Castile. This was ultimately defeated by the queen-mother, an artful woman, who, being of the blood royal of France, was naturally disposed to a union with that kingdom. Ferdinand did not neglect to maintain such an understanding with the malcontents of Navarre as should enable him to counteract any undue advantage which the French monarch might derive from the possession of this key, as it were, to the Castilian territory.[3]

In Aragon, two circumstances took place in the period under review, deserving historical notice. The first relates to an order of the Catalan peasantry, denominated vassals *de remenza*. These persons were subjected to a feudal bondage, which had its origin in very remote ages, but which had become in no degree mitigated, while the peasantry

whose diocese it belonged. The latter stoutly maintained the pretensions of the church. The queen with equal pertinacity asserted the supremacy of the royal jurisdiction over every other in the kingdom, secular or ecclesiastical. The affair was ultimately referred to the arbitration of certain learned men, named conjointly by the adverse parties. It was not then determined, however, and Pulgar has neglected to acquaint us with the award. Reyes Católicos, cap. 53.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1485.

[3] Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. v. lib. 35, cap. 2.

of every other part of Europe had been gradually rising to the rank of freemen. The grievous nature of the impositions had led to repeated rebellions in preceding reigns. At length, Ferdinand, after many fruitless attempts at a mediation between these unfortunate people and their arrogant masters, prevailed on the latter, rather by force of authority than argument, to relinquish the extraordinary seignorial rights which they had hitherto enjoyed, in consideration of a stipulated annual payment from their vassals.[4] (1486.)

The other circumstance worthy of record, but not in like manner creditable to the character of the sovereign, is the introduction of the modern Inquisition into Aragon. The ancient tribunal had existed there, as has been stated in a previous chapter, since the middle of the thirteenth century, but seems to have lost all its venom in the atmosphere of that free country; scarcely assuming a jurisdiction beyond that of an ordinary ecclesiastical court.* No sooner, however, was the institution organized on its new basis in Castile, than Ferdinand resolved on its introduction, in a similar form, in his own dominions.

Measures were accordingly taken to that effect at a meeting of his privy council convened by the king at Taraçona, during the session of the cortes

[4] Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 52, 67.—Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. 25, cap. 8.

* [In one most important particular the old Inquisition in Aragon differed from the new. If the life of the heretic was taken away, his property passed to his heirs, and was not forfeited to the crown.—M.]

in that place, in April, 1484; and a royal order was issued requiring all the constituted authorities throughout the kingdom to support the new tribunal in the exercise of its functions. A Dominician monk, Fray Gaspard Juglar, and Pedro Arbues de Epila, a canon of the metropolitan church, were appointed by the general, Torquemada, inquisitors over the diocese of Saragossa; and in the month of September following the chief justiciary and the other great officers of the realm took the prescribed oaths.[5]

The new institution, opposed to the ideas of independence common to all the Aragonese, was particularly offensive to the higher orders, many of whose members, including persons filling the most considerable official stations, were of Jewish descent, and of course precisely the class exposed to the scrutiny of the Inquisition. Without difficulty, therefore, the cortes was persuaded in the following year to send a deputation to the court of Rome, and another to Ferdinand, representing the repugnance of the new tribunal to the liberties of the nation, as well as to their settled opinions

[5] Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 6, art. 2.—Zurita, Anales, lib. 20, cap. 65.—At this cortes, convened at Taraçona, Ferdinand and Isabella experienced an instance of the haughty spirit of their Catalan subjects, who refused to attend, alleging it to be a violation of their liberties to be summoned to a place without the limits of their principality. The Valencians also protested, that their attendance should not operate as a precedent to their prejudice. It was usual to convene a central or general cortes at Fraga, or Monzon, or some town which the Catalans, who were peculiarly jealous of their privileges, claimed to be within their territory. It was still more usual to hold separate cortes of the three kingdoms simultaneously in such contiguous places in each as would permit the royal presence in all during their session. See Blancas, Modo de proceder en Cortes de Aragon (Zaragoza, 1641), cap. 4.

and habits, and praying that its operation might be suspended for the present, so far at least as concerned the confiscation of property, which it rightly regarded as the moving power of the whole terrible machinery.[6]

Both the pope and the king, as may be imagined, turned a deaf ear to these remonstrances. In the mean while the Inquisition commenced operations, and autos da fe were celebrated at Saragossa, with all their usual horrors, in the months of May and June, in 1485. The discontented Aragonese, despairing of redress in any regular way, resolved to intimidate their oppressors by some appalling act of violence. They formed a conspiracy for the assassination of Arbues, the most odious of the inquisitors established over the diocese of Saragossa. The conspiracy, set on foot by some of the principal nobility, was entered into by most of the new Christians, or persons of Jewish extraction, in the district. The sum of ten thousand reals was subscribed to defray the necessary expenses for the execution of their project. This was not easy, however, since Arbues, conscious of the popular odium that he had incurred, protected his person by wearing under his monastic robes a suit of mail, complete even to the hel-

[6] By one of the articles in the Privilegium Generale, the Magna Charta of Aragon, it is declared, "Que turment: ni inquisicion; no sian en Aragon como sian contra Fuero el qual dize que alguna pesquisa no hauemos: et contra el privilegio general, el qual vieda que inquisicion so sia feyta." (Fueros y Observancias, fol. 11.) The tenor of this clause (although the term *inquisicion* must not be confounded with the name of the modern institution) was sufficiently precise, one might have thought, to secure the Aragonese from the fangs of this terrible tribunal.

met beneath his hood. With similar vigilance he defended, also, every avenue to his sleeping-apartment.[7]

At length, however, the conspirators found an opportunity of surprising him while at his devotions. Arbues was on his knees before the great altar of the cathedral, near midnight, when his enemies, who had entered the church in two separate bodies, suddenly surrounded him, and one of them wounded him in the arm with a dagger, while another dealt him a fatal blow in the back of his neck. The priests, who were preparing to celebrate matins in the choir of the church, hastened to the spot, but not before the assassins had effected their escape. They transported the bleeding body of the inquisitor to his apartment, where he survived only two days, blessing the Lord that he had been permitted to seal so good a cause with his blood. The whole scene will readily remind the English reader of the assassination of Thomas A Becket.[8]

The event did not correspond with the expectations of the conspirators. Sectarian jealousy proved stronger than hatred of the Inquisition. The populace, ignorant of the extent or ultimate object of the conspiracy, were filled with vague apprehensions of an insurrection of the new Christians, who had so often been the objects of outrage; and they could only be appeased by the archbishop of Saragossa riding through the streets

[7] Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, chap. 6, art. 2, 3.

[8] Llorente, ubi supra.—Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, pp. 182, 183.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. pp. 37, 38.

and proclaiming that no time should be lost in detecting and punishing the assassins.

This promise was abundantly fulfilled; and wide was the ruin occasioned by the indefatigable zeal with which the bloodhounds of the tribunal followed up the scent. In the course of this persecution, two hundred individuals perished at the stake, and a still greater number in the dungeons of the Inquisition; and there was scarcely a noble family in Aragon but witnessed one or more of its members condemned to humiliating penance in the autos da fe. The immediate perpetrators of the murder were all hanged, after suffering the amputation of their right hands. One, who had appeared as evidence against the rest, under assurance of pardon, had his sentence so far commuted that his hand was not cut off till after he had been hanged. It was thus that the Holy Office interpreted its promises of grace.[9]

Arbues received all the honors of a martyr. His ashes were interred on the spot where he had been assassinated.[10] A superb mausoleum was erected

[9] Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 6, art. 5.—Blancas, Aragonensium Rerum Commentarii (Cæsaraugustæ, 1588), p. 266.—Among those who, after a tedious imprisonment, were condemned to do penance in an auto da fe, was a nephew of king Ferdinand, Don James of Navarre. Mariana, willing to point the tale with a suitable moral, informs us that, although none of the conspirators were ever brought to trial, they all perished miserably within a year, in different ways, by the judgment of God. (Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 368.) Unfortunately for the effect of this moral, Llorente, who consulted the original processes, must be received as the better authority of the two.

[10] According to Paramo, when the corpse of the inquisitor was brought to the place where he had been assassinated, the blood, which had been coagulated on the pavement, smoked up and boiled with most miraculous fervor! De Origine Inquisitionis, p. 382.

over them, and beneath his effigy a bas-relief was sculptured representing his tragical death, with an inscription containing a suitable denunciation of the race of Israel. And at length, when the lapse of nearly two centuries had supplied the requisite amount of miracles, the Spanish Inquisition had the glory of adding a new saint to the calendar, by the canonization of the martyr under Pope Alexander the Seventh, in 1664.[11]

The failure of the attempt to shake off the tribunal served only, as usual in such cases, to establish it more firmly than before. Efforts at resistance were subsequently, but ineffectually, made in other parts of Aragon, and in Valencia and Catalonia. It was not established in the latter province till 1487, and some years later in Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles. Thus Ferdinand had the melancholy satisfaction of riveting the most galling yoke ever devised by fanaticism round the necks of a people who till that period had enjoyed probably the greatest degree of constitutional freedom which the world had witnessed.*

[11] Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, p. 183.—Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, chap. 6, art. 4.—France and Italy also, according to Llorente, could each boast a saint inquisitor.† Their renown, however, has been eclipsed by the superior splendors of their great master St. Dominic;

—"Fils inconnus d'un si glorieux père."

* [The Inquisition was never as powerful in Aragon as it was in Castile. In 1591, when Philip II. was seeking the punishment of his disgraced favorite, Antonio Perez, the Aragonese sacked the Inquisition buildings and released the prisoners of the Holy Office.—M.]

† [Llorente also comments upon the fact that each of the three saint inquisitors bore the name of Peter: Peter of Arbues, Peter of Castelnau, and Peter of Verona.—M.]

CHAPTER XIII

WAR OF GRANADA—SURRENDER OF VELEZ MALAGA —SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF MALAGA

1487

Narrow Escape of Ferdinand before Velez—Malaga invested by Sea and Land—Brilliant Spectacle—The Queen visits the Camp—Attempt to assassinate the Sovereigns—Distress and Resolution of the Besieged—Enthusiasm of the Christians—Outworks carried by them—Proposals for Surrender—Haughty Demeanor of Ferdinand—Malaga surrenders at Discretion—Cruel Policy of the Victors

BEFORE commencing operations against Malaga, it was thought expedient by the Spanish council of war to obtain possession of Velez Malaga, situated about five leagues distant from the former. This strong town stood along the southern extremity of a range of mountains that extend to Granada. Its position afforded an easy communication with that capital, and obvious means of annoyance to an enemy interposed between itself and the adjacent city of Malaga. The reduction of this place, therefore, became the first object of the campaign.

The forces assembled at Cordova, consisting of the levies of the Andalusian cities principally, of the retainers of the great nobility, and of the well-appointed chivalry which thronged from all quarters of the kingdom, amounted on this occasion to twelve thousand horse and forty thousand foot;

a number which sufficiently attests the unslackened ardor of the nation in the prosecution of the war. On the 7th of April, 1487, King Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of this formidable host, quitted the fair city of Cordova amid the cheering acclamations of its inhabitants, although these were somewhat damped by the ominous occurrence of an earthquake, which demolished a part of the royal residence, among other edifices, during the preceding night. The route, after traversing the Yeguas and the old town of Antequera, struck into a wild, hilly country that stretches towards Velez. The rivers were so much swollen by excessive rains, and the passes so rough and difficult, that the army in part of its march advanced only a league a day; and on one occasion, when no suitable place occurred for encampment for the space of five leagues, the men fainted with exhaustion, and the beasts dropped down dead in the harness. At length, on the 17th of April, the Spanish army sat down before Velez Malaga, where in a few days they were joined by the lighter pieces of their battering ordnance, the roads, notwithstanding the immense labor expended on them, being found impracticable for the heavier guns.[1]

[1] Vedmar, Antigüedad y Grandezas de la Ciudad de Velez (Granada, 1652), fol. 148.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 25, cap. 10.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. iii. cap. 70.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1487.—Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 14.—In the general summons to Alava for the campaign of this year, we find a particular call on the *cavalleros* and *hidalgos*, with the assurance of pay during the time of service, and the menace of forfeiting their privileges as exempts from taxation, in case of non-compliance. Col. de Cédulas, tom. iv. no. 20.

The Moors were aware of the importance of Velez to the security of Malaga. The sensation excited in Granada by the tidings of its danger was so strong, that the old chief, El Zagal, found it necessary to make an effort to relieve the beleaguered city, notwithstanding the critical posture in which his absence would leave his affairs in the capital. Dark clouds of the enemy were seen throughout the day mustering along the heights, which by night were illumined with a hundred fires. Ferdinand's utmost vigilance was required for the protection of his camp against the ambuscades and nocturnal sallies of his wily foe. At length, however, El Zagal, having been foiled in a well-concerted attempt to surprise the Christian quarters by night, was driven across the mountains by the marquis of Cadiz, and compelled to retreat on his capital, completely baffled in his enterprise. There the tidings of his disaster had preceded him. The fickle populace, with whom misfortune passes for misconduct, unmindful of his former successes, now hastened to transfer their allegiance to his rival, Abdallah, and closed the gates against him; and the unfortunate chief withdrew to Gaudix, which, with Almeria, Baza, and some less considerable places, still remained faithful.[2]

Ferdinand conducted the siege all the while with his usual vigor, and spared no exposure of his person to peril or fatigue. On one occasion, seeing

[2] Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 292–294.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Vedmar, Antigüedad de Velez, fol. 151.

a party of Christians retreating in disorder before a squadron of the enemy, who had surprised them while fortifying an eminence near the city, the king, who was at dinner in his tent, rushed out with no other defensive armor than his cuirass, and, leaping on his horse, charged briskly into the midst of the enemy, and succeeded in rallying his own men. In the midst of the rencontre, however, when he had discharged his lance, he found himself unable to extricate his sword from the scabbard which hung from the saddle-bow. At this moment he was assaulted by several Moors, and must have been either slain or taken, but for the timely rescue of the marquis of Cadiz, and a brave cavalier, Garcilasso de la Vega, who, galloping up to the spot with their attendants, succeeded, after a sharp skirmish, in beating off the enemy. Ferdinand's nobles remonstrated with him on this wanton exposure of his person, representing that he could serve them more effectually with his head than his hand. But he answered that "he could not stop to calculate chances when his subjects were perilling their lives for his sake," a reply, says Pulgar, which endeared him to the whole army.[3]

At length, the inhabitants of Velez, seeing the ruin impending from the bombardment of the Christians, whose rigorous blockade both by sea

[3] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 175.—Vedmar, Antigüedad de Velez, fol. 150, 151.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 14.—In commemoration of this event, the city incorporated into its escutcheon the figure of a king on horseback, in the act of piercing a Moor with his javelin. Vedmar, Antigüedad de Velez, fol. 12.

and land excluded all hopes of relief from without, consented to capitulate on the usual conditions of security to their persons, property, and religion. The capitulation of this place (April 27th, 1487) was followed by that of more than twenty places of inferior note lying between it and Malaga, so that the approaches to this latter city were now left open to the victorious Spaniards.[4]

This ancient city, which, under the Spanish Arabs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, formed the capital of an independent principality, was second only to the metropolis itself, in the kingdom of Granada. Its fruitful environs furnished abundant articles of export, while its commodious port on the Mediterranean opened a traffic with the various countries washed by that inland sea, and with the remoter regions of India. Owing to these advantages, the inhabitants acquired unbounded opulence, which showed itself in the embellishments of their city, whose light forms of architecture, mingling after the Eastern fashion with odoriferous gardens and fountains of sparkling water, presented an appearance most refreshing to the senses in this sultry climate.[5]

The city was encompassed by fortifications of great strength and in perfect repair. It was commanded by a citadel, connected by a covered way

[4] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 52.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 14.

[5] Conde doubts whether the name of Malaga is derived from the Greek μαλακὴ, signifying "agreeable," or the Arabic *malka,* meaning "royal." Either etymology is sufficiently pertinent. (See El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, p. 186, nota.) For notices of sovereigns who swayed the sceptre of Malaga, see Casiri, Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. pp. 41, 56, 99, et alibi.

with a second fortress, impregnable from its position, denominated Gebalfaro, which stood along the declivities of the bold sierra of the Axarquia, whose defiles had proved so disastrous to the Christians. The city lay between two spacious suburbs, the one on the land side being also encircled by a formidable wall, and the other declining towards the sea, showing an expense of olive, orange, and pomegranate gardens, intermingled with the rich vineyards that furnished the celebrated staple for its export.

Malaga was well prepared for a siege by supplies of artillery and ammunition. Its ordinary garrison was reinforced by volunteers from the neighboring towns, and by a corps of African mercenaries, Gomeres, as they were called, men of ferocious temper, but of tried valor and military discipline. The command of this important post had been intrusted by El Zagal to a noble Moor, named Hamet Zeli, whose renown in the present war had been established by his resolute defence of Ronda.[6]

Ferdinand, while lying before Velez, received intelligence that many of the wealthy burghers of Malaga were inclined to capitulate at once, rather than hazard the demolition of their city by an obstinate resistance. He instructed the marquis of Cadiz, therefore, to open a negotiation with Hamet Zeli, authorizing him to make the most liberal offers to the alcayde himself, as well as his

[6] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 237.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 74.—El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, p. 144, nota.

garrison, and the principal citizens of the place, on condition of immediate surrender. The sturdy chief, however, rejected the proposal with disdain, replying that he had been commissioned by his master to defend the place to the last extremity, and that the Christian king could not offer a bribe large enough to make him betray his trust. Ferdinand, finding little prospect of operating on this Spartan temper, broke up his camp before Velez on the 7th of May, and advanced with his whole army as far as Bezmillana, a place on the sea-board about two leagues distant from Malaga.[7]

The line of march now lay through a valley commanded at the extremity nearest the city by two eminences; the one on the sea-coast, the other facing the fortress of the Gebalfaro and forming part of the wild sierra which overshadowed Malaga on the north. The enemy occupied both these important positions. A corps of Galicians was sent forward to dislodge them from the eminence towards the sea. But it failed in the assault, and, notwithstanding it was led up a second time by the commander of Leon and the brave Garcilasso de la Vega,[8] was again repulsed by the intrepid foe.

[7] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 82.—Vedmar, Antigüedad de Velez, fol. 154.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 74.

[8] This cavalier, who took a conspicuous part in both the military and civil transactions of this reign, was descended from one of the most ancient and honorable houses in Castile. Hita (Guerras civiles de Granada, tom. i. p. 399), with more effrontery than usual, has imputed to him a chivalrous rencontre with a Saracen, which is recorded of an ancestor, in the ancient Chronicle of Alonzo XI.:

"Garcilaso de la Vega
desde alli se ha intitulado,
porque en la Vega hiciera
campo con aquel pagano."

A similar fate attended the assault on the sierra, which was conducted by the troops of the royal household. They were driven back on the vanguard, which had halted in the valley under command of the grand master of St. James, prepared to support the attack on either side. Being reinforced, the Spaniards returned to the charge with the most determined resolution. They were encountered by the enemy with equal spirit. The latter, throwing away their lances, precipitated themselves on the ranks of the assailants, making use only of their daggers, grappling closely man to man, till both rolled promiscuously together down the steep sides of the ravine. No mercy was asked or shown. None thought of sparing or of spoiling, for hatred, says the chronicler, was stronger than avarice. The main body of the army, in the mean while, pent up in the valley, were compelled to witness the mortal conflict, and listen to the exulting cries of the enemy, which, after the Moorish custom, rose high and shrill above the din of battle, without being able to advance a step in support of their companions, who were again forced to give way before their impetuous adversaries and fall back on the vanguard under the grand master of St. James. Here, however, they speedily rallied, and, being reinforced, advanced to the charge a third time, with such inflexible courage as bore down all opposition, and compelled the enemy, exhausted, or rather over-

Oviedo, however, with good reason, distrusts the etymology and the story, as he traces both the cognomen and the peculiar device of the family to a much older date than the period assigned in the Chronicle. Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 3, dial. 43.

powered by superior numbers, to abandon his position. At the same time the rising ground on the seaside was carried by the Spaniards under the commander of Leon and Garcilasso de la Vega, who, dividing their forces, charged the Moors so briskly in front and rear that they were compelled to retreat on the neighboring fortress of Gebalfaro.[9]

As it was evening before these advantages were obtained, the army did not defile into the plains around Malaga before the following morning, when dispositions were made for its encampment. The eminence on the sierra, so bravely contested, was assigned, as the post of greatest danger, to the marquis duke of Cadiz. It was protected by strong works lined with artillery, and a corps of two thousand five hundred horse and fourteen thousand foot was placed under the immediate command of that nobleman. A line of defence was constructed along the declivity from this redoubt to the sea-shore. Similar works, consisting of a deep trench and palisades, or, where the soil was too rocky to admit of them, of an embankment or mound of earth, were formed in front of the encampment, which embraced the whole circuit of the city; and the blockade was completed by a fleet of armed vessels, galleys and caravels, which rode in the harbor under the command of the Catalan admiral, Requesens, and effectually cut off all communication by water.[10]

The old chronicler Bernaldez warms at the

[9] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 75.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, lib. 1, cap. 64.

[10] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 83.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 76.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1487.

aspect of the fair city of Malaga, thus encompassed by Christian legions, whose deep lines, stretching far over hill and valley, reached quite round from one arm of the sea to the other. In the midst of this brilliant encampment was seen the royal pavilion, proudly displaying the united banners of Castile and Aragon, and forming so conspicuous a mark for the enemy's artillery that Ferdinand, after imminent hazard, was at length compelled to shift his quarters. The Christians were not slow in erecting counter-batteries; but the work was obliged to be carried on at night, in order to screen them from the fire of the besieged.[11]

The first operations of the Spaniards were directed against the suburb, on the land side of the city. The attack was intrusted to the count of Cifuentos, the nobleman who had been made prisoner in the affair of the Axarquia and subsequently ransomed. The Spanish ordnance was served with such effect that a practicable breach was soon made in the wall. The combatants now poured their murderous volleys on each other through the opening, and at length met on the ruins of the breach. After a desperate struggle, the Moors gave way. The Christians rushed into the inclosure, at the same time effecting a lodgment on the rampart, and, although a part of it, undermined by the enemy, gave way with a terrible crash, they still kept possession of the remainder, and at length drove their antagonists, who sullenly retreated step by step, within the fortifi-

[11] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., ubi supra.

cations of the city. The lines were then drawn close around the place. Every avenue of communication was strictly guarded, and every preparation was made for reducing the town by regular blockade.[12]

In addition to the cannon brought round by water from Velez, the heavier lombards, which from the difficulty of transportation had been left during the late siege at Antequera, were now conducted across roads levelled for the purpose, to the camp. Supplies of marble bullets were also brought from the ancient and depopulated city of Algezira, where they had lain ever since its capture in the preceding century by Alfonso the Eleventh. The camp was filled with operatives, employed in the manufacture of balls and powder, which were stored in subterranean magazines, and in the fabrication of those various kinds of battering enginery which continued in use long after the introduction of gunpowder.[13]

During the early part of the siege, the camp experienced some temporary inconvenience from the occasional interruption of the supplies transported by water. Rumors of the appearance of the plague in some of the adjacent villages caused additional uneasiness; and deserters who passed into Malaga reported these particulars with the usual exaggeration, and encouraged the besieged to persevere, by the assurance that Ferdinand could not much longer keep the field, and that the

[12] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 1, epist. 63.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 76.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, cap. 83.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

[13] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 76.

queen had actually written to advise his breaking up the camp. Under these circumstances, Ferdinand saw at once the importance of the queen's presence in order to dispel the delusion of the enemy and to give new heart to his soldiers. He accordingly sent a message to Cordova, where she was holding her court, requesting her appearance in the camp.

Isabella had proposed to join her husband before Velez, on receiving tidings of El Zagal's march from Granada, and had actually enforced levies of all persons capable of bearing arms, between twenty and seventy years of age, throughout Andalusia, but subsequently disbanded them, on learning the discomfiture of the Moorish army. Without hesitation, she now set forward, accompanied by the cardinal of Spain and other dignitaries of the church, together with the infanta Isabella, and a courtly train of ladies and cavaliers in attendance on her person. She was received at a short distance from the camp by the marquis of Cadiz and the grand master of St. James, and escorted to her quarters amidst the enthusiastic greetings of the soldiery. Hope now brightened every countenance. A grace seemed to be shed over the rugged features of war; and the young gallants thronged from all quarters to the camp, eager to win the guerdon of valor from the hands of those from whom it is most grateful to receive it.[14]

[14] Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, lib. 1, cap. 64.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 70.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 83.

Ferdinand, who had hitherto brought into action only the lighter pieces of ordnance, from a willingness to spare the noble edifices of the city, now pointed his heaviest guns against its walls. Before opening his fire, however, he again summoned the place, offering the usual liberal terms in case of immediate compliance, and engaging otherwise, "with the blessing of God, to make them all slaves"! But the heart of the alcayde was hardened like that of Pharaoh, says the Andalusian chronicler, and the people were swelled with vain hopes, so that their ears were closed against the proposal; orders were even issued to punish with death any attempt at a parley. On the contrary, they made answer by a more lively cannonade than before, along the whole line of ramparts and fortresses which overhung the city. Sallies were also made at almost every hour of the day and night on every assailable point of the Christian lines, so that the camp was kept in perpetual alarm. In one of the nocturnal sallies, a body of two thousand men from the castle of Gebalfaro succeeded in surprising the quarters of the marquis of Cadiz, who, with his followers, was exhausted by fatigue and watching during the two preceding nights. The Christians, bewildered with the sudden tumult which broke their slumber, were thrown into the greatest confusion; and the marquis, who rushed half armed from his tent, found no little difficulty in bringing them to order, and beating off the assailants, after receiving a wound in the arm from an arrow; while he had a still narrower escape from the ball of an arquebuse,

that penetrated his buckler and hit him below the cuirass, but fortunately so much spent as to do him no injury.[15]

The Moors were not unmindful of the importance of Malaga, or the gallantry with which it was defended. They made several attempts to relieve it, the failure of which was owing less to the Christians than to treachery and their own miserable feuds. A body of cavalry, which El Zagal despatched from Gaudix to throw succors into the beleaguered city, was encountered and cut to pieces by a superior force of the young king Abdallah, who consummated his baseness by sending an embassy to the Christian camp, charged with a present of Arabian horses sumptuously caparisoned to Ferdinand, and of costly silks and Oriental perfumes to the queen; at the same time complimenting them on their successes, and soliciting the continuance of their friendly dispositions towards himself. Ferdinand and Isabella requited this act of humiliation by securing to Abdallah's subjects the right of cultivating their fields in quiet, and of trafficking with the Spaniards in every commodity save military stores. At this paltry price did the dastard prince consent to stay his arm at the only moment when it could be used effectually for his country.[16]

[15] Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 15.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iv. pp. 237, 238.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 83.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 79.

[16] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—During the siege, ambassadors arrived from an African potentate, the king of Tremecen, bearing a magnificent present to the Castilian sovereigns, interceding for the Malagans, and at the same time asking protection for his subjects from the Spanish cruisers in the Mediterranean. The sov-

More serious consequences were like to have resulted from an attempt made by another party of Moors from Guadix to penetrate the Christian lines. Part of them succeeded, and threw themselves into the besieged city. The remainder were cut in pieces. There was one, however, who, making no show of resistance, was taken prisoner without harm to his person. Being brought before the marquis of Cadiz, he informed that nobleman that he could make some important disclosures to the sovereigns. He was accordingly conducted to the royal tent; but, as Ferdinand was taking his siesta, in the sultry hour of the day, the queen, moved by divine inspiration, according to the Castilian historian, deferred the audience till her husband should awake, and commanded the prisoner to be detained in the adjoining tent. This was occupied by Doña Beatriz de Bobadilla, marchioness of Moya, Isabella's early friend, who happened to be at that time engaged in discourse with a Portuguese nobleman, Don Alvaro, son of the duke of Braganza.[17]

The Moor did not understand the Castilian language, and, deceived by the rich attire and courtly bearing of these personages, he mistook them for

ereigns graciously complied with the latter request, and complimented the African monarch with a plate of gold, on which the royal arms were curiously embossed, says Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, cap. 84.

[17] This nobleman, Don Alvaro de Portugal, had fled his native country, and sought an asylum in Castile from the vindictive enmity of John II., who had put to death the duke of Braganza, his elder brother. He was kindly received by Isabella, to whom he was nearly related, and subsequently preferred to several important offices of state. His son, the count of Gelves, married a granddaughter of Christopher Columbus. Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

the king and queen. While in the act of refreshing himself with a glass of water, he suddenly drew a dagger from beneath the broad folds of his *albornoz,* or Moorish mantle, which he had been incautiously suffered to retain, and, darting on the Portuguese prince, gave him a deep wound on the head, and then, turning like lightning on the marchioness, aimed a stroke at her, which fortunately glanced without injury, the point of the weapon being turned by the heavy embroidery of her robes. Before he could repeat his blow, the Moorish Scævola, with a fate very different from that of his Roman prototype, was pierced with a hundred wounds by the attendants, who rushed to the spot, alarmed by the cries of the marchioness, and his mangled remains were soon after discharged from a catapult into the city; a foolish bravado, which the besieged requited by slaying a Galician gentleman and sending his corpse astride upon a mule through the gates of the town into the Christian camp.[18]

This daring attempt on the lives of the king and queen spread general consternation throughout the army. Precautions were taken for the future, by ordinances prohibiting the introduction of any unknown person armed, or any Moor whatever, into the royal quarters; and the body-guard was augmented by the addition of two hundred hidalgos of Castile and Aragon, who, with their

[18] Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 23.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 1, epist. 63.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 84.—Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 15.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 175, 176.

retainers, were to keep constant watch over the persons of the sovereigns.

Meanwhile, the city of Malaga, whose natural population was greatly swelled by the influx of its foreign auxiliaries, began to be straitened for supplies, while its distress was aggravated by the spectacle of abundance which reigned throughout the Spanish camp. Still, however, the people, overawed by the soldiery, did not break out into murmurs, nor did they relax in any degree the pertinacity of their resistance. Their drooping spirits were cheered by the predictions of a fanatic, who promised that they should eat the grain which they saw in the Christian camp; a prediction which came to be verified, like most others that are verified at all, in a very different sense from that intended or understood.

The incessant cannonade kept up by the besieging army, in the mean time, so far exhausted their ammunition that they were constrained to seek supplies from the most distant parts of the kingdom, and from foreign countries. The arrival of two Flemish transports at this juncture, from the emperor of Germany, whose interest had been roused in the crusade, afforded a seasonable reinforcement of military stores and munitions.

The obstinate defence of Malaga had given the siege such celebrity that volunteers, eager to share in it, flocked from all parts of the Peninsula to the royal standard. Among others, the duke of Medina Sidonia, who had furnished his quota of troops at the opening of the campaign, now arrived in person with a reinforcement, together

with a hundred galleys freighted with supplies, and a loan of twenty thousand doblas of gold to the sovereigns for the expenses of the war. Such was the deep interest in it excited throughout the nation, and the alacrity which every order of men exhibited in supporting its enormous burdens.[19]

The Castilian army, swelled by these daily augmentations, varied in its amount, according to different estimates, from sixty to ninety thousand men. Throughout this immense host, the most perfect discipline was maintained. Gaming was restrained by ordinances interdicting the use of dice and cards, of which the lower orders were passionately fond. Blasphemy was severely punished. Prostitutes, the common pest of a camp, were excluded; and so entire was the subordination, that not a knife was drawn, and scarcely a brawl occurred, says the historian, among the motley multitude. Besides the higher ecclesiastics who attended the court, the camp was well supplied with holy men, priests, friars, and the chaplains of the great nobility, who performed the exercises of religion in their respective quarters with all the pomp and splendor of the Roman Catholic worship; exalting the imaginations of the soldiers into the high devotional feeling which became those who were fighting the battles of the Cross.[20]

Hitherto, Ferdinand, relying on the blockade, and yielding to the queen's desire to spare the lives of her soldiers, had formed no regular plan of

[19] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 87–89.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 84.

[20] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 87.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 71.

assault upon the town. But, as the season rolled on without the least demonstration of submission on the part of the besieged, he resolved to storm the works, which, if attended by no other consequences, might at least serve to distress the enemy and hasten the hour of surrender. Large wooden towers on rollers were accordingly constructed, and provided with an apparatus of drawbridges and ladders, which, when brought near to the ramparts, would open a descent into the city. Galleries were also wrought, some for the purpose of penetrating into the place, and others to sap the foundations of the walls. The whole of these operations was placed under the direction of Francisco Ramirez, the celebrated engineer of Madrid.

But the Moors anticipated the completion of these formidable preparations by a brisk, well-concerted attack on all points of the Spanish lines. They countermined the assailants, and, encountering them in the subterraneous passages, drove them back, and demolished the frame-work of the galleries. At the same time, a little squadron of armed vessels, which had been riding in safety under the guns of the city, pushed out and engaged the Spanish fleet. Thus the battle raged with fire and sword, above and under ground, along the ramparts, the ocean, and the land, at the same time. Even Pulgar cannot withhold his tribute of admiration to this unconquerable spirit in an enemy wasted by all the extremities of famine and fatigue. "Who does not marvel," he says, "at the bold heart of these infidels in battle, their prompt obedience to their chiefs, their dexterity in

the wiles of war, their patience under privation, and undaunted perseverance in their purposes?" [21]

A circumstance occurred in a sortie from the city, indicating a trait of character worth recording. A noble Moor, named Abrahen Zenete, fell in with a number of Spanish children who had wandered from their quarters. Without injuring them, he touched them gently with the handle of his lance, saying, "Get ye gone, varlets, to your mothers." On being rebuked by his comrades, who inquired why he had let them escape so easily, he replied, "Because I saw no beard upon their chins." "An example of magnanimity," says the Curate of Los Palacios, "truly wonderful in a heathen, and which might have reflected credit on a Christian hidalgo." [22]

But no virtue or valor could avail the unfortunate Malagans against the overwhelming force of their enemies, who, driving them back from every point, compelled them, after a desperate struggle of six hours, to shelter themselves within the defences of the town. The Christians followed up their success. A mine was sprung near a tower connected by a bridge of four arches with the main works of the place. The Moors, scattered and intimidated by the explosion, retreated across

[21] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. 237, 238.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 80.—Caro de Torres, Ordenes militares, fol. 82, 83.

[22] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 91.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 84.—The honest exclamation of the Curate brings to mind the similar encomium of the old Moorish ballad:

"Caballeros Granadinos,
Aunque Moros, hijosdalgo."
Hita, Guerras de Granada, tom. i. p. 257.

the bridge; and the Spaniards, carrying the tower, whose guns completely enfiladed it, obtained possession of this important pass into the beleaguered city. For these and other signal services during the siege, Francisco Ramirez, the master of the ordnance, received the honors of knighthood from the hand of King Ferdinand.[23]

The citizens of Malaga, dismayed at beholding the enemy established in their defences, and fainting under exhaustion from a siege which had already lasted more than three months, now began to murmur at the obstinacy of the garrison, and to demand a capitulation. Their magazines of grain were emptied, and for some weeks they had been compelled to devour the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and even the boiled hides of these animals, or, in default of other nutriment, vine-leaves dressed

[23] There is no well-authenticated instance of the employment of gunpowder in mining in European warfare, so far as I am aware, of an earlier date than this. Tiraboschi, indeed, refers, on the authority of another writer, to a work in the library of the Academy of Siena, composed by one Francesco Giorgio, architect of the duke of Urbino, about 1480, in which that person claims the merit of the invention. (Letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. p. 370.) The whole statement is obviously too loose to warrant any such conclusion. The Italian historians notice the use of gunpowder mines at the siege of the little town of Serezanello in Tuscany, by the Genoese, in 1487, precisely contemporaneous with the siege of Malaga. (Machiavelli, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. 8.—Guicciardini, Istoria d'Italia (Milano, 1803), tom. iii. lib. 6.) This singular coincidence, in nations having then but little intercourse, would seem to infer some common origin of greater antiquity. However this may be, the writers of both nations are agreed in ascribing the first successful use of such mines on any extended scale to the celebrated Spanish engineer, Pedro Navarro, when serving under Gonsalvo de Cordova, in his Italian campaigns at the beginning of the sixteeenth century. Guicciardini, ubi supra.—Paolo Giovio, De Vita Magni Gonsalvi (Vitæ Illustrium Virorum, Basilæ, 1578), lib. 2.—Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. v. lib. 35, cap. 12.

with oil, and leaves of the palm-tree, pounded fine, and baked into a sort of cake. In consequence of this loathsome and unwholesome diet, diseases were engendered. Multitudes were seen dying about the streets. Many deserted to the Spanish camp, eager to barter their liberty for bread; and the city exhibited all the extremes of squalid and disgusting wretchedness, bred by pestilence and famine among an overcrowded population. The sufferings of the citizens softened the stern heart of the alcayde, Hamet Zeli, who at length yielded to their importunities, and, withdrawing his forces into the Gebalfaro, consented that the Malagans should make the best terms they could with their conqueror.

A deputation of the principal inhabitants, with an eminent merchant named Ali Dordux at their head, was then despatched to the Christian quarters, with the offer of the city to capitulate, on the same liberal conditions which had been uniformly granted by the Spaniards. The king refused to admit the embassy into his presence, and haughtily answered, through the commander of Leon, that "these terms had been twice offered to the people of Malaga, and rejected; that it was too late for them to stipulate conditions, and nothing now remained but to abide by those which he, as their conqueror, should vouchsafe to them." [24]

Ferdinand's answer spread general consternation throughout Malaga. The inhabitants saw too

[24] Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 296.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 175.—Rades y Andrada, Las tres Ordenes, fol. 54.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 92.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 85.

plainly that nothing was to be hoped from an appeal to sentiments of humanity. After a tumultuous debate, the deputies were despatched a second time to the Christian camp, charged with propositions in which concession was mingled with menace. They represented that the severe response of King Ferdinand to the citizens had rendered them desperate: that they were willing to resign to him their fortifications, their city,—in short, their property of every description,—on his assurance of their personal security and freedom; if he refused this, they would take their Christian captives, amounting to five or six hundred, from the dungeons in which they lay, and hang them like dogs over the battlements; and then, placing their old men, women, and children in the fortress, they would set fire to the town, and cut a way for themselves through their enemies, or fall in the attempt. "So," they continued, "if you gain a victory, it will be such a one as shall make the name of Malaga ring throughout the world, and to ages yet unborn!" Ferdinand, unmoved by these menaces, coolly replied that he saw no occasion to change his former determination, but they might rest assured, if they harmed a single hair of a Christian, he would put every soul in the place, man, woman, and child, to the sword.

The anxious people, who thronged forth to meet the embassy on its return to the city, were overwhelmed with the deepest gloom at its ominous tidings. Their fate was now sealed. Every avenue to hope seemed closed by the stern response of the victor. Yet hope will still linger; and,

although there were some frantic enough to urge the execution of their desperate menaces, the greater number of the inhabitants, and among them those most considerable for wealth and influence, preferred the chance of Ferdinand's clemency to certain, irretrievable ruin.

For the last time, therefore, the deputies issued from the gates of the city, charged with an epistle to the sovereigns from their unfortunate countrymen, in which, after deprecating their anger, and lamenting their own blind obstinacy, they reminded their highnesses of the liberal terms which their ancestors had granted to Cordova, Antequera, and other cities, after a defence as pertinacious as their own. They expatiated on the fame which the sovereigns had established by the generous policy of their past conquests, and, appealing to their magnanimity, concluded with submitting themselves, their families, and their fortunes to their disposal. Twenty of the principal citizens were then delivered up as hostages for the peaceable demeanor of the city until its occupation by the Spaniards. "Thus," says the Curate of Los Palacios, "did the Almighty harden the hearts of these heathen, like to those of the Egyptians, in order that they might receive the full wages of the manifold oppressions which they had wrought on his people, from the days of King Roderic to the present time!" [25]

[25] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 93.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 296.—The Arabic historians state that Malaga was betrayed by Ali Dordux, who admitted the Spaniards into the castle while the citizens were debating on Ferdinand's terms. (See Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 39.) The

On the appointed day, the commander of Leon rode through the gates of Malaga, at the head of his well-appointed chivalry, and took possession of the *alcazaba,* or lower citadel. The troops were then posted at their respective stations along the fortifications, and the banners of Christian Spain triumphantly unfurled from the towers of the city, where the crescent had been displayed for an uninterrupted period of nearly eight centuries.

The first act was to purify the town from the numerous dead bodies, and other offensive matter, which had accumulated during this long siege, and lay festering in the streets, poisoning the atmosphere. The principal mosque was next consecrated with due solemnity to the service of Santa Maria de la Encarnacion. Crosses and bells, the symbols of Christian worship, were distributed in profusion among the sacred edifices; where, says the Catholic chronicler last quoted, " the celestial music of their chimes, sounding at every hour of the day and night, caused perpetual torment to the ears of the infidel." [26]

On the eighteenth day of August, being somewhat more than three months from the date of opening trenches, Ferdinand and Isabella made

letter of the inhabitants, quoted at length by Pulgar, would seem to be a refutation of this. And yet there are good grounds for suspecting false play on the part of the ambassador Dordux, since the Castilian writers admit that he was exempted, with forty of his friends, from the doom of slavery and forfeiture of property passed upon his fellow-citizens.

[26] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 85.—The reader may remember Don Quixote's rebuke of Master Peter, the unlucky puppet-man, for violating historical accuracy by introducing bells into his Moorish pantomime. Part. 2, cap. 26.

their entrance into the conquered city, attended by the court, the clergy, and the whole of their military array. The procession moved in solemn state up the principal streets, now deserted and hushed in ominous silence, to the new cathedral of St. Mary, where mass was performed; and, as the glorious anthem of the Te Deum rose for the first time within its ancient walls, the sovereigns, together with the whole army, prostrated themselves in grateful adoration of the Lord of hosts, who had thus reinstated them in the domains of their ancestors.

The most affecting incident was afforded by the multitude of Christian captives who were rescued from the Moorish dungeons. They were brought before the sovereigns, with their limbs heavily manacled, their beards descending to their waists, and their sallow visages emaciated by captivity and famine. Every eye was suffused with tears at the spectacle. Many recognized their ancient friends, of whose fate they had long been ignorant. Some had lingered in captivity ten or fifteen years; and among them were several belonging to the best families in Spain. On entering the presence, they would have testified their gratitude by throwing themselves at the feet of the sovereigns; but the latter, raising them up and mingling their tears with those of the liberated captives, caused their fetters to be removed, and, after administering to their necessities, dismissed them with liberal presents.[27]

[27] Carbajal, whose meagre annals have scarcely any merit beyond that of a mere chronological table, postpones the surrender till

The fortress of Gebalfaro surrendered on the day after the occupation of Malaga by the Spaniards. The gallant Zegri chieftain, Hamet Zeli, was loaded with chains; and, being asked why he had persisted so obstinately in his *rebellion,* boldly answered, "Because I was commissioned to defend the place to the last extremity; and, if I had been properly supported, I would have died sooner than surrender now!"

The doom of the vanquished was now to be pronounced. On entering the city, orders had been issued to the Spanish soldiery, prohibiting them under the severest penalties from molesting either the persons or property of the inhabitants. These latter were directed to remain in their respective mansions with a guard set over them, while the cravings of appetite were supplied by a liberal distribution of food. At length, the whole population of the city, comprehending every age and sex, was commanded to repair to the great courtyard of the alcazaba, which was overlooked on all sides by lofty ramparts garrisoned by the Spanish soldiery. To this place, the scene of many a Moorish triumph, where the spoil of the border foray had often been displayed, and which might still be emblazoned with the trophy of many a Christian banner, the people of Malaga now directed their steps. As the multitude swarmed through the streets, filled with boding apprehensions of their fate, they wrung their hands, and, raising their eyes to heaven, uttered the most piteous lamenta-

September. Anales, año 1487.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 14.

tions. "Oh Malaga," they cried, "renowned and beautiful city, how are thy sons about to forsake thee! Could not thy soil, on which they first drew breath, be suffered to cover them in death? Where is now the strength of thy towers, where the beauty of thy edifices? The strength of thy walls, alas, could not avail thy children, for they had sorely displeased their Creator. What shall become of thy old men and thy matrons, or of thy young maidens delicately nurtured within thy halls, when they shall feel the iron yoke of bondage? Can thy barbarous conquerors without remorse thus tear asunder the dearest ties of life?" Such are the melancholy strains in which the Castilian chronicler has given utterance to the sorrows of the captive city.[28]

The dreadful doom of slavery was denounced on the assembled multitude. One-third was to be transported into Africa in exchange for an equal number of Christian captives detained there; and all who had relatives or friends in this predicament were required to furnish a specification of them. Another third was appropriated to reimburse the state for the expenses of the war. The remainder were to be distributed as presents at home and abroad. Thus, one hundred of the flower of the

[28] Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 15.—As a counterpart to the above scene, twelve Christian renegades, found in the city, were transfixed with canes, *acañavereados,* a barbarous punishment derived from the Moors, which was inflicted by horsemen at full gallop, who discharged pointed reeds at the criminal until he expired under repeated wounds. A number of relapsed Jews were at the same time condemned to the flames. "These," says father Abarca, "were the *fêtes* and illuminations most grateful to the Catholic piety of our sovereigns!" Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 3.

African warriors were sent to the pope, who incorporated them into his guard, and converted them all in the course of the year, says the Curate of Los Palacios, into very good Christians. Fifty of the most beautiful Moorish girls were presented by Isabella to the queen of Naples, thirty to the queen of Portugal, others to the ladies of her court; and the residue of both sexes were apportioned among the nobles, cavaliers, and inferior members of the army, according to their respective rank and services.[29]

As it was apprehended that the Malagans, rendered desperate by the prospect of a hopeless, interminable captivity, might destroy or secrete their jewels, plate, and other precious effects, in which this wealthy city abounded, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemies, Ferdinand devised a politic expedient for preventing it. He proclaimed that he would receive a certain sum, if paid within nine months, as the ransom of the whole population, and that their personal effects should be admitted in part payment. This sum averaged about thirty doublas a head, including in the estimate all those who might die before the determination of the period assigned. The ransom thus stipulated proved more than the unhappy people could raise, either by themselves, or agents employed to solicit contributions among their brethren of Granada and Africa; at the same time, it so far deluded their hopes that they gave in a full inventory of their effects to the treasury.

[29] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., ubi supra.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 62.

By this shrewd device, Ferdinand obtained complete possession both of the persons and property of his victims.[30]

Malaga was computed to contain from eleven to fifteen thousand inhabitants, exclusive of several thousand foreign auxiliaries, within its gates at the time of surrender. One cannot, at this day, read the melancholy details of its story without feelings of horror and indignation. It is impossible to vindicate the dreadful sentence passed on this unfortunate people for a display of heroism which should have excited admiration in every generous bosom. It was obviously most repugnant to Isabella's natural disposition, and must be admitted to leave a stain on her memory which no coloring of history can conceal.* It may find some palliation, however, in the bigotry of the age, the more excusable in a woman, whom education, general example, and natural distrust of herself, accustomed to rely, in matters of conscience, on the spiritual guides whose piety and professional learning seemed to qualify them for the trust. Even in this very transaction she fell far short of the suggestions of some of her counsellors, who

[30] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 87.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 176.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 238.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 296.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1487.—Not a word of comment escapes the Castilian historians on this merciless rigor of the conqueror towards the vanquished. It is evident that Ferdinand did no violence to the feelings of his orthodox subjects. *Tacendo clamant.*

* [Since Prescott wrote, historical research has caused men to change their ideas respecting the character of Isabella. To use the words of Justin Winsor: "We need to plead the times for her, and we need to push the plea very far." The researches of Bergenroth are largely responsible for the change in thought.—M.]

urged her to put every inhabitant without exception to the sword; which, they affirmed, would be a just requital of their obstinate *rebellion,* and would prove a wholesome warning to others! We are not told who the advisers of this precious measure were; but the whole experience of this reign shows that we shall scarcely wrong the clergy much by imputing it to them. That their arguments could warp so enlightened a mind as that of Isabella from the natural principles of justice and humanity, furnishes a remarkable proof of the ascendency which the priesthood usurped over the most gifted intellects, and of their gross abuse of it, before the Reformation, by breaking the seals set on the sacred volume, opened to mankind the uncorrupted channel of divine truth.[31]

[31] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 87.—Bleda, Carónica, lib. 5, cap. 15.—About four hundred and fifty Moorish Jews were ransomed by a wealthy Isrealite of Castile for 27,000 doblas of gold; a proof that the Jewish stock was one which thrived amidst persecution. It is scarcely possible that the circumstantial Pulgar should have omitted to notice so important a fact as the scheme of the Moorish ransom, had it occurred. It is still more improbable that the honest Curate of Palacios should have fabricated it. Any one who attempts to reconcile the descrepancies of even contemporary historians will have Lord Oxford's exclamation to his son Horace brought to his mind ten times a day: "Oh! read me not history, for that I know to be false." *

* [The exact terms of the offer made to the inhabitants of Malaga in the name of the Spanish sovereigns are to be found in a document bearing date September 4, 1487, which is preserved in the Archives of Simancas and printed in the eighth volume of the Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España. The ransom for each person was fixed at thirty *doblas de oro* of a specified weight, or the equivalent in wines, jewels, or silks. To facilitate speedy payment, the people were to dispose of their effects at public auction. If the sum thus raised fell short of two-thirds of the whole amount required, the difference was to be made up within sixty days. The remaining third was to be paid in two instalments,

The fate of Malaga may be said to have decided that of Granada. The latter was now shut out from the most important ports along her coast; and she was environed on every point of her territory by her warlike foe, so that she could hardly hope more from subsequent efforts, however strenuous and united, than to postpone the inevitable hour of dissolution. The cruel treatment of Malaga was the prelude to the long series of persecutions which awaited the wretched Moslems in the land of their ancestors; in that land over which the " star of Islamism," to borrow their own metaphor, had shone in full brightness for nearly eight centuries, but where it was now fast descending amid clouds and tempests to the horizon.

The first care of the sovereigns was directed towards repeopling the depopulated city with their own subjects. Houses and lands were freely granted to such as would settle there. Numerous towns and villages with a wide circuit of territory were placed under its civil jurisdiction, and it was made the head of a diocese embracing most of the recent conquests in the south and west of Granada. These inducements, combined with the natural advantages of position and climate, soon caused the tide of Christian population to flow into the deserted city; but it was very long before it again reached the degree of commercial consequence to which it had been raised by the Moors.[32]

[32] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 94.—In July, 1501, we find a royal ordinance authorizing an immunity from various taxes, and other

in April and October, 1488, hostages in sufficient numbers being retained till the final payment.—K.]

After these salutary arrangements, the Spanish sovereigns led back their victorious legions in triumph to Cordova; whence dispersing to their various homes, they prepared, by a winter's repose, for new campaigns and more brilliant conquests.

important privileges, to Malaga and its territory, for the further encouragement of population in the conquered city.—Col. de Céd., tom. vi. no. 321.

CHAPTER XIV

WAR OF GRANADA—CONQUEST OF BAZA—SUBMISSION OF EL ZAGAL

1487–1489

The Sovereigns visit Aragon—The King lays Siege to Baza—Its Great Strength—Gardens cleared of their Timber—The Queen raises the Spirits of her Troops—Her patriotic Sacrifices—Suspension of Arms—Baza surrenders—Treaty with El Zagal—Difficulties of the Campaign—Isabella's Popularity and Influence

IN the autumn of 1487, Ferdinand and Isabella, accompanied by the younger branches of the royal family, visited Aragon, to obtain the recognition from the cortes of Prince John's succession, the boy being now in his tenth year, as well as to repress the disorder into which the country had fallen during the long absence of its sovereigns. To this end, the principal cities and communities of Aragon had recently adopted the institution of the hermandad, organized on similar principles to that of Castile. Ferdinand, on his arrival at Saragossa in the month of November, gave his royal sanction to the association, extending the term of its duration to five years; a measure extremely unpalatable to the great feudal nobility, whose power, or rather abuse of power, was considerably abridged by this popular military force.[1]

[1] Zurita, Añales, tom. iv. fol. 351, 352, 356.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 25, cap. 12.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 3, cap. 95.

The sovereigns, after accomplishing the objects of their visit, and obtaining an appropriation from the cortes for the Moorish war, passed into Valencia, where measures of like efficiency were adopted for restoring the authority of the law, which was exposed to such perpetual lapses in this turbulent age, even in the best-constituted governments, as required for its protection the utmost vigilance on the part of those intrusted with the supreme executive power. From Valencia the court proceeded to Murcia, where Ferdinand, in the month of June, 1488, assumed the command of an army amounting to less than twenty thousand men, a small force compared with those usually levied on these occasions; it being thought advisable to suffer the nation to breathe a while, after the exhausting efforts in which it had been unintermittingly engaged for so many years.

Ferdinand, crossing the eastern borders of Granada, at no great distance from Vera, which speedily opened its gates, kept along the southern slant of the coast as far as Almeria; whence, after experiencing some rough treatment in a sortie of the garrison, he marched by a northerly circuit on Baza, for the purpose of reconnoitring its position, as his numbers were altogether inadequate to its siege. A division of the army under the marquis duke of Cadiz suffered itself to be drawn here into an ambuscade by the wily old monarch El Zagal, who lay in Baza with a strong force. After extricating his troops with some difficulty and loss from this perilous predicament, Ferdinand retreated on his own dominions by the way of

Huescar, where he disbanded his army, and withdrew to offer up his devotions at the cross of Caravaca. The campaign, though signalized by no brilliant achievement, and indeed clouded with some slight reverses, secured the surrender of a considerable number of fortresses and towns of inferior note.[2]

The Moorish chief, El Zagal, elated by his recent success, made frequent forays into the Christian territories, sweeping off the flocks, herds, and growing crops of the husbandman; while the garrisons of Almeria and Salobrena, and the bold inhabitants of the valley of Purchena, poured a similar devastating warfare over the eastern borders of Granada into Murcia. To meet this pressure, the Spanish sovereigns reinforced the frontier with additional levies under Juan de Benavides and Garcilasso de la Vega; while Christian knights, whose prowess is attested in many a Moorish lay, flocked there from all quarters, as to the theatre of war.

During the following winter, of 1488, Ferdinand and Isabella occupied themselves with the interior government of Castile, and particularly the administration of justice. A commission was specially appointed to supervise the conduct of the corregidors and subordinate magistrates, "so that every one," says Pulgar, "was most careful to discharge his duty faithfully, in order to escape

[2] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 76.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 98.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 402.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 298, 299.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1488.

the penalty which was otherwise sure to overtake him." [3]

While at Valladolid, the sovereigns received an embassy from Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederick the Fourth * of Germany, soliciting their co-operation in his designs against France for the restitution of his late wife's rightful inheritance, the duchy of Burgundy, and engaging in turn to support them in their claims on Roussillon and Cerdagne. The Spanish monarchs had long entertained many causes of discontent with the French court, both with regard to the mortgaged territory of Roussillon and the kingdom of Navarre; and they watched with jealous eye the daily increasing authority of their formidable neighbor on their own frontier. They had been induced, in the preceding summer, to equip an armament at Biscay and Guipuscoa, to support the duke of

[3] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 239, 240.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 100, 101.—During the preceding year, while the court was at Murcia, we find one of the examples of prompt and severe exercise of justice which sometimes occur in this reign. One of the royal collectors, having been resisted and personally maltreated by the alcayde of Salvatierra, a place belonging to the crown, and by the alcalde of a territorial court of the duke of Alva, the queen caused one of the royal judges privately to enter into the place and take cognizance of the affair. The latter, after a brief investigation, commanded the alcayde to be hung up over his own fortress, and the alcalde to be delivered over to the court of chancery at Valladolid, who ordered his right hand to be amputated and banished him the realm. This summary justice was perhaps necessary in a community that might be said to be in transition from a state of barbarism to that of civilization, and had a salutary effect in proving to the people that no rank was elevated enough to raise the offender above the law. Pulgar, cap. 99.

* [Styled usually Frederick the Third, the claims of "Frederick the Handsome," whether as rival or colleague of Louis of Bavaria, being properly disallowed by most historians.—K.]

Brittany in his wars with the French regent, the celebrated Anne de Beaujeu. This expedition, which proved disastrous, was followed by another in the spring of the succeeding year.[4] But, notwithstanding these occasional episodes to the great work in which they were engaged, they had little leisure for extended operations; and, although they entered into the proposed treaty of alliance with Maximilian, they do not seem to have contemplated any movement of importance before the termination of the Moorish war. The Flemish ambassadors, after being entertained for forty days in a style suited to impress them with high ideas of the magnificence of the Spanish court and of its friendly disposition towards their master, were dismissed with costly presents, and returned to their own country.[5]

These negotiations show the increasing intimacy growing up between the European states, who, as they settled their domestic feuds, had leisure to turn their eyes abroad and enter into the more extended field of international politics. The tenor of this treaty indicates also the direction which affairs were to take when the great powers should

[4] Ialigny, Hist. de Charles VIII., pp. 92, 94.—Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. xv. p. 77.—Aleson, Anales de Navarra, tom. v. p. 61.—Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, pp. 578, 579.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 102.—In the first of these expeditions, more than a thousand Spaniards were slain or taken at the disastrous battle of St. Aubin, in 1488, being the same in which Lord Rivers, the English noble who made such a gallant figure at the siege of Loja, lost his life. In the spring of 1489, the levies sent into France amounted to two thousand in number. These efforts abroad, simultaneous with the great operations of the Moorish war, show the resources as well as energy of the sovereigns.

[5] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.

be brought into collision with each other on a common theatre of action.

All thoughts were now concentrated on the prosecution of the war with Granada, which it was determined should be conducted on a more enlarged scale than it had yet been; notwithstanding the fearful pest which had desolated the country during the past year, and the extreme scarcity of grain, owing to the inundations caused by excessive rains in the fruitful provinces of the south. The great object proposed in this campaign was the reduction of Baza, the capital of that division of the empire which belonged to El Zagal. Besides this important city, that monarch's dominions embraced the wealthy seaport of Almeria, Guadix, and numerous other towns and villages of less consequence, together with the mountain region of the Alpujarras, rich in mineral wealth; whose inhabitants, famous for the perfection to which they had carried the silk-manufacture, were equally known for their enterprise and courage in war: so that El Zagal's division comprehended the most potent and opulent portion of the empire.[6]

In the spring of 1489, the Castilian court passed to Jaen, at which place the queen was to establish her residence, as presenting the most favorable

[6] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 91.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 354.—Bleda, Corónica, fol. 607.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 307.—Such was the scarcity of grain that the prices in 1489, quoted by Bernaldez, are double those of the preceding year. Both Abarca and Zurita mention the report that four-fifths of the whole population were swept away by the pestilence of 1488. Zurita finds more difficulty in swallowing this monstrous statement than father Abarca, whose appetite for the marvellous appears to have been fully equal to that of most of his calling in Spain.

point of communication with the invading army. Ferdinand advanced as far as Sotogordo, where, on the 27th of May, he put himself at the head of a numerous force, amounting to about fifteen thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, including persons of every description; among whom was gathered, as usual, that chivalrous array of nobility and knighthood which, with stately and well-appointed retinues, was accustomed to follow the royal standard in these crusades.[7]

[7] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 70.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 104.—It may not be amiss to specify the names of the most distinguished cavaliers who usually attended the king in these Moorish wars; the heroic ancestors of many a noble house still extant in Spain:

Alonzo de Cardenas, master of Saint Jago.
Juan de Zuñiga, master of Alcantara.
Juan Garcia de Padilla, master of Calatrava.
Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marquis duke of Cadiz.
Enrique de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia.
Pedro Manrique, duke of Najera.
Juan Pacheco, duke of Escalona, marquis of Villena.
Juan Pimentel, count of Benavente.
Fadrique de Toledo, son of the duke of Alva.
Diego Fernandez de Cordova, count of Cabra.
Gomez Alvarez de Figueroa, count of Feria.
Alvaro Tellez Giron, count of Ureña.
Juan de Silva, count of Cifuentes.
Fadrique Enriquez, adelantado of Andalusia.
Alonso Fernandez de Cordova, lord of Aguilar.
Gonsalvo de Cordova, brother of the last, known afterwards as the Great Captain.
Luis Porto-Carrero, lord of Palma.
Gutierre de Cardenas, first commander of Leon.
Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, count of Haro, constable of Castile.
Beltran de la Cueva, duke of Albuquerque.
Diego Fernandez de Cordova, alcayde of the royal pages, afterwards marquis of Comaras.
Alvara de Zuñiga, duke of Bejar.
Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, afterwards marquis of Mondejar.

The first point against which operations were directed was the strong post of Cuxar, two leagues only from Baza, which surrendered after a brief but desperate resistance. The occupation of this place, and some adjacent fortresses, left the approaches open to El Zagal's capital. As the Spanish army toiled up the heights of the mountain barrier which towers above Baza on the west, their advance was menaced by clouds of Moorish light troops, who poured down a tempest of musket-balls and arrows on their heads. These, however, were quickly dispersed by the advancing vanguard; and the Spaniards, as they gained the summits of the hills, beheld the lordly city of Baza, reposing in the shadows of the bold sierra that stretches towards the coast, and lying in the bosom of a fruitful valley extending eight leagues in length and three in breadth. Through this valley flowed the waters of the Guadalentin and the Guadalquiton, whose streams were conducted by a thousand canals over the surface of the vega. In the midst of the plain, adjoining the suburbs, might be descried the orchard or garden, as it was termed, of Baza, a league in length, covered with a thick growth of wood, and with numerous villas and pleasure-houses of the wealthy citizens, now converted into garrisoned fortresses. The suburbs were encompassed by a low mud wall; but the fortifications of the city were of uncommon strength. The place, in addition to ten thousand troops of its

Luis de Cerda, duke of Medina Celi.

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, marquis of Santillana, second duke of Infantado.

Garcilasso de la Vega, lord of Batras.

own, was garrisoned by an equal number from Almeria; picked men, under the command of the Moorish prince Cidi Yahye, a relative of El Zagal, who lay at this time in Guadix, prepared to cover his own dominions against any hostile movement of his rival in Granada. These veterans were commissioned to defend the place to the last extremity; and, as due time had been given for preparation, the town was victualled with fifteen months' provisions, and even the crops growing in the vega had been garnered before their prime, to save them from the hands of the enemy.[8]

The first operation, after the Christian army had encamped before the walls of Baza, was to get possession of the garden, without which it would be impossible to enforce a thorough blockade, since its labyrinth of avenues afforded the inhabitants abundant facilities of communication with the surrounding country. The assault was intrusted to the grand master of St. James, supported by the principal cavaliers, and the king in person. Their reception by the enemy was such as gave them a foretaste of the perils and desperate daring they were to encounter in the present siege. The broken surface of the ground, traversed by intricate passes and thickly studded with trees and edifices, was peculiarly favorable to the desultory and illusory tactics of the Moors. The Spanish cavalry was brought at once to a stand; the ground proving impracticable for it, it was dis-

[8] Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 360.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 241.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 70.—Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. fol. 239.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 16.

mounted, and led to the charge by its officers on foot. The men, however, were soon scattered far asunder from their banners and their leaders. Ferdinand, who from a central position endeavored to overlook the field, with the design of supporting the attack on the points most requiring it, soon lost sight of his columns amid the precipitous ravines and the dense masses of foliage which everywhere intercepted the view. The combat was carried on, hand to hand, in the utmost confusion. Still the Spaniards pressed forward, and, after a desperate struggle for twelve hours, in which many of the bravest on both sides fell, and the Moslem chief, Reduan Zafarga, had four horses successively killed under him, the enemy were beaten back behind the intrenchments that covered the suburbs, and the Spaniards, hastily constructing a defence of palisades, pitched their tents on the field of battle.[9]

The following morning Ferdinand had the mortification to observe that the ground was too much broken, and obstructed with wood, to afford a suitable place for a general encampment. To evacuate his position, however, in the face of the enemy, was a delicate manœuvre, and must necessarily expose him to severe loss. This he obviated, in a great measure, by a fortunate strategem. He commanded the tents nearest the town to be left

[9] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 106, 107.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 40.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 71.—Pulgar relates these particulars with a perspicuity very different from his entangled narrative of some of the preceding operations in this war. Both he and Martyr were present during the whole siege of Baza.

standing, and thus succeeded in drawing off the greater part of his forces before the enemy was aware of his intention.

After regaining his former position, a council of war was summoned to deliberate on the course next to be pursued. The chiefs were filled with despondency, as they revolved the difficulties of their situation. They almost despaired of enforcing the blockade of a place whose peculiar situation gave it such advantages. Even could this be effected, the camp would be exposed, they argued, to the assaults of a desperate garrison on the one hand, and of the populous city of Guadix, hardly twenty miles distant, on the other; while the good faith of Granada could scarcely be expected to outlive a single reverse of fortune; so that, instead of besieging, they might be more properly regarded as themselves besieged. In addition to these evils, the winter frequently set in with much rigor in this quarter; and the torrents, descending from the mountains, and mingling with the waters of the valley, might overwhelm the camp with an inundation, which, if it did not sweep it away at once, would expose it to the perils of famine by cutting off all external communication. Under these gloomy impressions, many of the council urged Ferdinand to break up his position at once, and postpone all operations on Baza until the reduction of the surrounding country should make it comparatively easy. Even the marquis of Cadiz gave in to this opinion; and Gutierre de Cardenas, commander of Leon, a cavalier deservedly high in the confidence of the king, was

almost the only person of consideration decidedly opposed to it. In this perplexity, Ferdinand, as usual in similar exigencies, resolved to take counsel of the queen.[10]

Isabella received her husband's despatches a few hours after they were written, by means of the regular line of posts maintained between the camp and her station at Jaen. She was filled with chagrin at their import, from which she plainly saw that all her mighty preparations were about to vanish into air. Without assuming the responsibility of deciding the proposed question, however, she besought her husband not to distrust the providence of God, which had conducted them through so many perils towards the consummation of their wishes. She reminded him that the Moorish for-

[10] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 92.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 299, 300.—Bleda, Corónica, p. 611.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. p. 664.—Don Gutierre de Cardenas, who possessed so high a place in the confidence of the sovereigns, occupied a station in the queen's household, as we have seen, at the time of her marriage with Ferdinand. His discretion and general ability enabled him to retain the influence which he had early acquired, as is shown by a popular distich of that time:

> "Cardenas, y el Cardenal, y Chacon, y Fray Mortero,
> Traen la Corte al retortero."

Fray Mortero was Don Alonso de Burgos, bishop of Palencia, confessor of the sovereigns. Don Juan Chacon was the son of Gonsalvo, who had the care of Don Alfonso and the queen during her minority, when he was induced by the liberal largesses of John II. of Aragon to promote her marriage with his son Ferdinand. The elder Chacon was treated by the sovereigns with the greatest deference and respect, being usually called by them "father." After his death, they continued to manifest a similar regard towards Don Juan, his eldest son, and heir of his ample honors and estates. Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades, lib. 4, cap. 1.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1, 2.

tunes were never at so low an ebb as at present, and that their own operations could probably never be resumed on such a formidable scale or under so favorable auspices as now, when their arms had not been stained with a single important reverse. She concluded with the assurance that, if his soldiers would be true to their duty, they might rely on her for the faithful discharge of hers in furnishing them with all the requisite supplies.

The exhilarating tone of this letter had an instantaneous effect, silencing the scruples of the most timid, and confirming the confidence of the others. The soldiers, in particular, who had received with dissatisfaction some intimation of what was passing in the council, welcomed it with generous enthusiasm; and every heart seemed now intent on furthering the wishes of their heroic queen by prosecuting the siege with the utmost vigor.

The army was accordingly distributed into two encampments; one under the marquis duke of Cadiz supported by the artillery, the other under King Ferdinand, on the opposite side of the city. Between the two lay the garden or orchard before mentioned, extending a league in length; so that, in order to connect the works of the two camps, it became necessary to get possession of this contested ground, and to clear it of the heavy timber with which it was covered.

This laborious operation was intrusted to the commander of Leon, and the work was covered by a detachment of seven thousand troops, posted in such a manner as to check the sallies of the gar-

rison. Notwithstanding four thousand *taladores,* or pioneers, were employed in the task, the forest was so dense, and the sorties from the city so annoying, that the work of devastation did not advance more than ten paces a day, and was not completed before the expiration of seven weeks. When the ancient groves, so long the ornament and protection of the city, were levelled to the ground, preparations were made for connecting the two camps by a deep trench, through which the mountain waters were made to flow; while the borders were fortified with palisades, constructed of the timber lately hewn, together with strong towers of mud or clay, arranged at regular intervals. In this manner the investment of the city was complete on the side of the vega.[11]

As means of communication still remained open, however, by the opposite sierra, defences of similar strength, consisting of two stone walls separated by a deep trench, were made to run along the rocky heights and ravines of the mountains until they touched the extremities of the fortifications on the plain; and thus Baza was encompassed by an unbroken line of circumvallation.

In the progress of the laborious work, which occupied ten thousand men, under the indefatigable commander of Leon, for the space of two months, it would have been easy for the people of Guadix, or of Granada, by co-operation with the sallies of the besieged, to place the Christian

[11] Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 304.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 109.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 73.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 92.

army in great peril. Some feeble demonstration of such a movement was made at Guadix, but it was easily disconcerted. Indeed, El Zagal was kept in check by the fear of leaving his own territory open to his rival should he march against the Christians. Abdallah, in the mean while, lay inactive in Granada, incurring the odium and contempt of his people, who stigmatized him as a Christian in heart, and a pensioner of the Spanish sovereigns. Their discontent gradually swelled into a rebellion, which was suppressed by him with a severity that at length induced a sullen acquiescence in a rule which, however inglorious, was at least attended with temporary security.[12]

While the camp lay before Baza, a singular mission was received from the sultan of Egypt, who had been solicited by the Moors of Granada to interpose in their behalf with the Spanish sovereigns. Two Franciscan friars, members of a religious community in Palestine, were bearers of despatches, which, after remonstrating with the sovereigns on their persecution of the Moors, contrasted it with the protection uniformly extended by the sultan to the Christians in his dominions. The communication concluded with menacing a retaliation of similar severities on these latter, unless the sovereigns desisted from their hostilities against Granada.

From the camp, the two ambassadors proceeded to Jaen, where they were received by the queen

[12] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 40.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 25, cap. 12.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 111.

with all the deference due to their holy profession, which seemed to derive additional sanctity from the spot in which it was exercised. The menacing import of the sultan's communication, however, had no power to shake the purposes of Ferdinand and Isabella, who made answer that they had uniformly observed the same policy in regard to their Mahometan as to their Christian subjects, but that they could no longer submit to see their ancient and rightful inheritance in the hands of strangers, and that, if these latter would consent to live under their rule as true and loyal subjects, they should experience the same paternal indulgence which had been shown to their brethren. With this answer the reverend emissaries returned to the Holy Land, accompanied by substantial marks of the royal favor, in a yearly pension of one thousand ducats, which the queen settled in perpetuity on their monastery, together with a richly-embroidered veil, the work of her own fair hands, to be suspended over the Holy Sepulchre.* The sovereigns subsequently despatched the learned Peter Martyr as their envoy to the Moslem court, in order to explain their proceedings more at length, and avert any disastrous consequences from the Christian residents.[13]

[13] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 112.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 86.

* [Christopher Columbus was in the camp at Baza when the two Franciscans came with the message from the Sultan of Egypt. According to Washington Irving, this visit may have inspired the great sailor to devote to a crusade a portion of the wealth he was about to secure from the New World.—M.]

In the mean while, the siege went forward with spirit; skirmishes and single rencontres taking place every day between the high-mettled cavaliers on both sides. These chivalrous combats, however, were discouraged by Ferdinand, who would have confined his operations to a strict blockade, and avoided the unnecessary effusion of blood; especially as the advantage was most commonly on the side of the enemy, from the peculiar adaptation of their tactics to this desultory warfare. Although some months had elapsed, the besieged rejected with scorn every summons to surrender; relying on their own resources, and still more on the tempestuous season of autumn, now fast advancing, which, if it did not break up the encampment at once, would at least by demolishing the roads, cut off all external communication.

In order to guard against these impending evils, Ferdinand caused more than a thousand houses, or rather huts, to be erected, with walls of earth or clay, and roofs made of timber and tiles; while the common soldiers constructed cabins by means of palisades loosely thatched with the branches of trees. The whole work was accomplished in four days; and the inhabitants of Baza beheld with amazement a city of solid edifices, with all its streets and squares in regular order, springing as it were by magic out of the ground, which had before been covered with the light and airy pavilions of the camp. The new city was well supplied, owing to the providence of the queen, not merely with the necessaries but the luxuries of life.

Traders flocked there as to a fair, from Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and even Sicily, freighted with costly merchandise, and with jewelry and other articles of luxury; such as, in the indignant lament of an old chronicler, "too often corrupt the souls of the soldiery, and bring waste and dissipation into a camp."

That this was not the result, however, in the present instance, is attested by more than one historian. Among others, Peter Martyr, the Italian scholar before mentioned, who was present at this siege, dwells with astonishment on the severe decorum and military discipline which everywhere obtained among this motley congregation of soldiers. "Who would have believed," says he, "that the Galician, the fierce Asturian, and the rude inhabitant of the Pyrenees, men accustomed to deeds of atrocious violence, and to brawl and battle on the lightest occasions at home, should mingle amicably, not only with one another, but with the Toledans, the La-Manchans, and the wily and jealous Andalusians; all living together in harmonious subordination to authority, like members of one family, speaking one tongue, and nurtured under a common discipline; so that the camp seemed like a community modelled on the principle of Plato's republic!" In another part of this letter, which was addressed to a Milanese prelate, he panegyrizes the camp hospital of the queen, then a novelty in war; which, he says, "is so profusely supplied with medical attendants, apparatus, and whatever may contribute to the restoration or solace of the sick, that it is scarcely

surpassed in these respects by the magnificent establishments of Milan." [14]

During the five months which the siege had now lasted, the weather had proved uncommonly propitious to the Spaniards, being for the most part of a bland and equal temperature, while the sultry heats of midsummer were mitigated by cool and moderate showers. As the autumnal season advanced, however, the clouds began to settle heavily around the mountains; and at length one of those storms predicted by the people of Baza burst forth with incredible fury, pouring a volume of waters down the rocky sides of the sierra, which, mingling with those of the vega, inundated the camp of the besiegers, and swept away most of the frail edifices constructed for the use of the common soldiery. A still greater calamity befell them in the dilapidation of the roads, which, broken up or worn into deep gullies by the force of the waters, were rendered perfectly impassable. All communication with Jaen was of course suspended, and a temporary interruption of the convoys filled the camp with consternation. This disaster, however, was speedily repaired by the queen, who, with an energy always equal to the occasion, caused six

[14] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 73, 80.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 113, 114, 117.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. p. 667.—Bleda, Corónica, p. 64.—The plague, which fell heavily this year on some parts of Andalusia, does not appear to have attacked the camp, which Bleda imputes to the healing influence of the Spanish sovereigns, "whose good faith, religion, and virtue banished the contagion from their army, where it must otherwise have prevailed." Personal comforts and cleanliness of the soldiers, though not quite so miraculous a cause, may be considered perhaps full as efficacious.

thousand pioneers to be at once employed in reconstructing the roads: the rivers were bridged over, causeways new laid, and two separate passes opened through the mountains, by which the convoys might visit the camp and return without interrupting each other. At the same time, the queen bought up immense quantities of grain in all parts of Andalusia, which she caused to be ground in her own mills; and when the roads, which extended more than seven leagues in length, were completed, fourteen thousand mules might be seen daily traversing the sierra, laden with supplies, which from that time forward were poured abundantly, and with the most perfect regularity, into the camp.[15]

Isabella's next care was to assemble new levies of troops, to relieve or reinforce those now in the camp; and the alacrity with which all orders of men from every quarter of the kingdom answered her summons is worthy of remark. But her chief solicitude was to devise expedients for meeting the enormous expenditures incurred by the protracted operations of the year. For this purpose, she had recourse to loans from individuals and religious corporations, which were obtained without much difficulty, from the general confidence in her good faith. As the sum thus raised, although exceedingly large for that period, proved inadequate to the expenses, further supplies were obtained from wealthy individuals, whose loans were secured by mortgage of the royal demesne; and, as a defi-

[15] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 73.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 116.

ciency still remained in the treasury, the queen, as a last resource, pawned the crown jewels and her own personal ornaments to the merchants of Barcelona and Valencia, for such sums as they were willing to advance on them.[16] Such were the efforts made by this high-spirited woman for the furtherance of her patriotic enterprise. The extraordinary results which she was enabled to effect are to be ascribed less to the authority of her station than to that perfect confidence in her wisdom and virtue with which she had inspired the whole nation, and which secured their earnest co-operation in all her undertakings. The empire which she thus exercised, indeed, was far more extended than any station however exalted, or any authority however despotic, can confer; for it was over the hearts of her people.

Notwithstanding the vigor with which the siege was pressed, Baza made no demonstration of submission. The garrison was indeed greatly reduced in number; the ammunition was nearly expended; yet there still remained abundant supplies of provisions in the town, and no signs of despondency appeared among the people. Even the women of the place, with a spirit emulating that of the

[16] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 118.—Archivo de Simancas, in Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 311.—The city of Valencia lent 35,000 florins on the crown and 20,000 on a collar of rubies. They were not wholly redeemed till 1495. Señor Clemencin has given a catalogue of the royal jewels (see Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilustracion 6), which appear to have been extremely rich and numerous, for a period anterior to the discovery of those countries whose mines have since furnished Europe with its *bijouterie*. Isabella, however, set so little value on them that she divested herself of most of them in favor of her daughters.

dames of ancient Carthage, freely gave up their jewels, bracelets, necklaces, and other personal ornaments, of which the Moorish ladies were exceedingly fond, in order to defray the charges of the mercenaries.

The camp of the besiegers, in the mean while, was also greatly wasted both by sickness and the sword. Many, desponding under perils and fatigues which seemed to have no end, would even at this late hour have abandoned the siege; and they earnestly solicited the queen's appearance in the camp, in the hope that she would herself countenance this measure on witnessing their sufferings. Others, and by far the larger part, anxiously desired the queen's visit as likely to quicken the operations of the siege and bring it to a favorable issue. There seemed to be a virtue in her presence, which, on some account or other, made it earnestly desired by all.

Isabella yielded to the general wish, and on the 7th of November arrived at the camp, attended by the infanta Isabella, the cardinal of Spain, her friend the marchioness of Moya, and other ladies of the royal household. The inhabitants of Baza, says Bernaldez, lined the battlements and housetops, to gaze at the glittering cavalcade as it emerged from the depths of the mountains, amidst flaunting banners and strains of martial music; while the Spanish cavaliers thronged forth in a body from the camp to receive their beloved mistress, and gave her the most animated welcome. " She came," says Martyr, " surrounded by a choir of nymphs, as if to celebrate the nuptials of her

child; and her presence seemed at once to gladden and reanimate our spirits, drooping under long vigils, dangers, and fatigue." Another writer, also present, remarks that, from the moment of her appearance, a change seemed to come over the scene: no more of the cruel skirmishes which had before occurred every day; no report of artillery, or clashing of arms, or any of the rude sounds of war, was to be heard, but all seemed disposed to reconciliation and peace.[17]

The Moors probably interpreted Isabella's visit into an assurance that the Christian army would never rise from before the place until its surrender. Whatever hopes they had once entertained of wearying out the besiegers were therefore now dispelled. Accordingly, a few days after the queen's arrival, we find them proposing a parley for arranging terms of capitulation.

On the third day after her arrival, Isabella reviewed her army, stretched out in order of battle along the slope of the western hills; after which she proceeded to reconnoitre the beleaguered city, accompanied by the king and the cardinal of Spain, together with a brilliant escort of the Spanish chivalry. On the same day, a conference was opened with the enemy through the *comendador* of Leon, and an armistice arranged, to continue until the old monarch, El Zagal, who then lay at Guadix, could be informed of the real condition of the

[17] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 92.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 120, 121.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 93.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 80.

besieged, and his instructions be received, determining the course to be adopted.

The alcayde of Baza represented to his master the low state to which the garrison was reduced by the loss of lives and the failure of ammunition. Still, he expressed such confidence in the spirit of his people that he undertook to make good his defence some time longer, provided any reasonable expectation of succor could be afforded; otherwise it would be a mere waste of life, and must deprive him of such vantage-ground as he now possessed for enforcing an honorable capitulation. The Moslem prince acquiesced in the reasonableness of these representations. He paid a just tribute to the loyalty of his brave kinsman Cidi Yahye, and the gallantry of his defence, but, confessing at the same time his own inability to relieve him, authorized him to negotiate the best terms of surrender which he could, for himself and garrison.[18]

A mutual desire of terminating the protracted hostilities infused a spirit of moderation into both parties, which greatly facilitated the adjustment of the articles. Ferdinand showed none of the arrogant bearing which marked his conduct towards the unfortunate people of Malaga, whether from a conviction of its impolicy, or, as is more probable, because the city of Baza was itself in a condition to assume a more imposing attitude. The principal stipulations of the treaty

[18] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 80.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 242.—Carbajal, Anales, Ms., año 1489.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 305.

were, that the foreign mercenaries employed in the defence of the place should be allowed to march out with the honors of war; that the city should be delivered up to the Christians; but that the natives might have the choice of retiring with their personal effects where they listed, or of occupying the suburbs as subjects of the Castilian crown, liable only to the same tribute which they paid to their Moslem rulers, and secured in the enjoyment of their property, religion, laws, and usages.[19]

On the fourth day of December, 1489, Ferdinand and Isabella took possession of Baza, at the head of their legions, amid the ringing of bells, the peals of artillery, and all the other usual accompaniments of this triumphant ceremony; while the standard of the cross, floating from the ancient battlements of the city, proclaimed the triumph of the Christian arms. The brave alcayde, Cidi Yahye, experienced a reception from the sovereigns very different from that of the bold defender of Malaga. He was loaded with civilities and presents; and these acts of courtesy so won upon his heart that he expressed a willingness to enter into their service. "Isabella's compliments," says the Arabian historian, dryly, "were repaid in more substantial coin." *

[19] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 124.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 16.

* [The character and proceedings of Yahye, or Yahía Alnayar, are revealed in their true light by a document in the Archives of Simancas, bearing date December 25, 1489, in which Ferdinand recites and confirms the promises contained in an agreement made in his name by Gutierre de Cardenas, with the Moorish traitor and

Cidi Yahye was soon prevailed on to visit his royal kinsman El Zagal, at Guadix, for the purpose of urging his submission to the Christian sovereigns. In his interview with that prince, he represented the fruitlessness of any attempt to withstand the accumulated forces of the Spanish monarchies; that he would only see town after town pared away from his territory, until no ground was left for him to stand on and make terms with the victor. He reminded him that the baleful horoscope of Abdallah had predicted the downfall of Granada, and that experience had abundantly shown how vain it was to struggle against the tide of destiny. The unfortunate monarch listened, says the Arabian annalist, without so much as moving an eyelid, and, after a long and deep meditation, replied, with the resignation

renegade, previously to the surrender of Baza. In return for his alacrity in bringing about that event,—"por la prisa que á mi instancia é por me servir distes á la entrega della,"—and in view of other services rendered or to be rendered,—"como por lo mucho y bien que me habeis servido y espero que me serviréis,"—Yahía, with his son and nephews, was to be received into Ferdinand's household, maintained and treated like "the great caballeros," and secured in the possession of his vineyards and castles, with immunity from taxes, and the right to visit any town with an armed escort of twenty men. His reward for obtaining the surrender of Gaudix and bringing over his brother-in-law the king to the service of the Spanish sovereign was to be 10,000 reales. As he had professed his desire to become a Christian, he was to receive baptism in Ferdinand's chamber, in order that his conversion might not be known to his countrymen till after the surrender of Gaudix, as secrecy on this point would enable him to render more effectual service during the remainder of the conquest and would also prevent the desertion of his followers to swell the ranks of the enemy. "Lo habeis de tener en secreto por mas servir á Dios y á mí en lo restante de la conquista, en que desta manera sereis mas parte, é porque vuestra gente de guerra no os deje é se vaya con nuestros enemigos." Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. viii.—K.]

characteristic of the Moslems, "What Allah wills, he brings to pass in his own way. Had he not decreed the fall of Granada, this good sword might have saved it; but his will be done!" It was then arranged that the principal cities of Almeria, Guadix, and their dependencies, constituting the domain of El Zagal, should be formally surrendered by that prince to Ferdinand and Isabella, who should instantly proceed at the head of their army to take possession of them.[20]

On the seventh day of December, therefore, the Spanish sovereigns, without allowing themselves or their jaded troops any time for repose, marched out of the gates of Baza, King Ferdinand occupying the centre, and the queen the rear of the army. Their route lay across the most savage district of the long sierra which stretches towards Almeria, leading through many a narrow pass which a handful of resolute Moors, says an eye-witness, might have made good against the whole Christian army, over mountains whose peaks were lost in clouds, and valleys whose depths were never warmed by the sun. The winds were exceedingly bleak, and the weather inclement; so that men, as well as horses, exhausted by the fatigues of previous service, were benumbed by the intense cold, and many of them frozen to death. Many more, losing their way in the intricacies of the sierra, would have experienced the same miserable fate, had it not been for the marquis of Cadiz, whose

[20] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 40.—Bleda, Corónica, p. 612.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 92.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 16.

tent was pitched on one of the loftiest hills, and who caused beacon-fires to be lighted around it, in order to guide the stragglers back to their quarters.

At no great distance from Almeria, Ferdinand was met, conformably to the previous arrangement, by El Zagal, escorted by a numerous body of Moslem cavaliers. Ferdinand commanded his nobles to ride forward and receive the Moorish prince. "His appearance," says Martyr, who was in the royal retinue, "touched my soul with compassion; for, although a lawless barbarian, he was a king, and had given signal proofs of heroism." El Zagal, without waiting to receive the courtesies of the Spanish nobles, threw himself from his horse, and advanced towards Ferdinand with the design of kissing his hand; but the latter, rebuking his followers for their "rusticity," in allowing such an act of humiliation in the unfortunate monarch, prevailed on him to remount, and then rode by his side towards Almeria.[21]

This city was one of the most precious jewels in the diadem of Granada. It had amassed great wealth by its extensive commerce with Syria, Egypt, and Africa; and its corsairs had for ages been the terror of the Catalan and Pisan marine. It might have stood a siege as long as that of Baza, but it was now surrendered without a blow, on conditions similar to those granted to the former city. After allowing some days for the

[21] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 81.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 340.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, loc. cit.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 40.

refreshment of their wearied forces in this pleasant region, which, sheltered from the bleak winds of the north by the sierra they had lately traversed, and fanned by the gentle breezes of the Mediterranean, is compared by Martyr to the gardens of the Hesperides, the sovereigns established a strong garrison there, under the commander of Leon, and then, striking again into the recesses of the mountains, marched on Guadix, which, after some opposition on the part of the populace, threw open its gates to them. The surrender of these principal cities was followed by that of all the subordinate dependencies belonging to El Zagal's territory, comprehending a multitude of hamlets scattered along the green side of the mountain-chain that stretched from Granada to the coast. To all these places the same liberal terms, in regard to personal rights and property, were secured, as to Baza.*

As an equivalent for these broad domains, the Moorish chief was placed in possession of the *taha,* or district, of Andaraz, the vale of Alhaurin, and half the salt-pits of Maleha, together with a considerable revenue in money. He was, moreover, to receive the title of King of Andaraz, and to render homage for his estates to the crown of Castile.

This shadow of royalty could not long amuse the mind of the unfortunate prince. He pined

* [The terms were even *more* liberal than had been granted to Baza, since the inhabitants, Jews as well as Moors, were not only to retain their own religion and law, but to remain in possession of their homes, secure from plunder or molestation. See the *Capitulacion* (from the Archives of Simancas), dated February 11, 1490, in the Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España, tom. xi.—K.]

away amid the scenes of his ancient empire; and, after experiencing some insubordination on the part of his new vassals, he determined to relinquish his petty principality and withdraw forever from his native land. Having received a large sum of money as an indemnification for the entire cession of his territorial rights and possessions to the Castilian crown, he passed over to Africa, where, it is reported, he was plundered of his property by the barbarians, and condemned to starve out the remainder of his days in miserable indigence.[22]

The suspicious circumstances attending this prince's accession to the throne throw a dark cloud over his fame, which would otherwise seem, at least so far as his public life is concerned, to be unstained by any opprobrious act. He possessed such energy, talent, and military science as, had he been fortunate enough to unite the Moorish nation under him by an undisputed title, might have postponed the fall of Granada for many years. As it was, these very talents, by dividing the state in his favor, served only to precipitate its ruin.

The Spanish sovereigns, having accomplished the object of the campaign, after stationing part of their forces on such points as would secure the permanence of their conquests, returned with the remainder to Jaen, where they disbanded the army on the 4th of January, 1490. The losses sustained

[22] El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, p. 160, nota.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1488.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 304.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 81.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 245, 246.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 93.

by the troops, during the whole period of their prolonged service, greatly exceeded those of any former year, amounting to not less than twenty thousand men, by far the larger portion of whom are said to have fallen victims to diseases incident to severe and long-continued hardships and exposure.[23]

Thus terminated the eighth year of the war of Granada; a year more glorious to the Christian arms, and more important in its results, than any of the preceding. During this period, an army of eighty thousand men had kept the field, amid all the inclemencies of winter, for more than seven months; an effort scarcely paralleled in those times, when both the amount of levies and period of service were on the limited scale adapted to the exigencies of feudal warfare.[24] Supplies for this immense host, notwithstanding the severe famine of the preceding year, were punctually furnished, in spite of every embarrassment presented by the want of navigable rivers, and the interposition of a precipitous and pathless sierra.

The history of this campaign is, indeed, most honorable to the courage, constancy, and thorough discipline of the Spanish soldier, and to the patriotism and general resources of the nation; but most of all to Isabella. She it was who fortified the timid councils of the leaders, after the disasters of the garden, and encouraged them to

[23] Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 360.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 308.

[24] The city of Seville alone maintained 600 horse and 8000 foot, under the count of Cifuentes, for the space of eight months during this siege. See Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 404.

persevere in the siege. She procured all the supplies, constructed the roads, took charge of the sick, and furnished, at no little personal sacrifice, the immense sums demanded for carrying on the war; and, when at last the hearts of the soldiers were fainting under long-protracted sufferings, she appeared among them, like some celestial visitant, to cheer their faltering spirits and inspire them with her own energy. The attachment to Isabella seemed to be a pervading principle, which animated the whole nation by one common impulse, impressing a unity of design on all its movements. This attachment was imputable to her sex as well as character. The sympathy and tender care with which she regarded her people naturally raised a reciprocal sentiment in their bosoms. But, when they beheld her directing their counsels, sharing their fatigues and dangers, and displaying all the comprehensive intellectual powers of the other sex, they looked up to her as to some superior being, with feelings far more exalted than those of mere loyalty. The chivalrous heart of the Spaniard did homage to her, as to his tutelar saint; and she held a control over her people such as no man could have acquired in any age,—and probably no woman, in an age and country less romantic.

Pietro Martire, or, as he is called in English, Peter Martyr, so often quoted in the present chapter, and who will constitute one of our best authorities during the remainder of the History, was a native of Arona (not of Anghiera, as commonly supposed), a place situated on the borders of Lago Maggiore in Italy. (Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia (Brescia, 1753–63), tom. ii., *voce* Anghiera.) He was of noble Milanese extraction. In 1477, at twenty-two years of

age, he was sent to complete his education at Rome, where he continued ten years, and formed an intimacy with the most distinguished literary characters of that cultivated capital. In 1487, he was persuaded by the Castilian ambassador, the count of Tendilla, to accompany him to Spain, where he was received with marked distinction by the queen, who would have at once engaged him in the tuition of the young nobility of the court; but, Martyr having expressed a preference of a military life, she, with her usual delicacy, declined to press him on the point. He was present, as we have seen, at the siege of Baza, and continued with the army during the subsequent campaigns of the Moorish war. Many passages of his correspondence, at this period, show a whimsical mixture of self-complacency with a consciousness of the ludicrous figure which he made in "exchanging the Muses for Mars."

At the close of the war he entered the ecclesiastical profession, for which he had been originally destined, and was persuaded to resume his literary vocation. He opened his school at Valladolid, Saragossa, Barcelona, Alcalá de Henares, and other places; and it was thronged with the principal young nobility from all parts of Spain, who, as he boasts in one of his letters, drew their literary nourishment from him: "Suxerunt mea literalia ubera Castellæ principes fere omnes." His important services were fully estimated by the queen, and, after her death, by Ferdinand and Charles V., and he was recompensed with high ecclesiastical preferment as well as civil dignities. He died about the year 1525, at the age of seventy, and his remains were interred beneath a monument in the cathedral church of Granada, of which he was prior.

Among Martyr's principal works is a treatise "De Legatione Babylonicâ," being an account of a visit to the sultan of Egypt, in 1501, for the purpose of deprecating the retaliation with which he had menaced the Christian residents in Palestine for the injuries inflicted on the Spanish Moslems. Peter Martyr conducted his negotiation with such address that he not only appeased the sultan's resentment, but obtaned several important immunities for his Christian subjects, in addition to those previously enjoyed by them.

He also wrote an account of the discoveries of the New World, entitled "De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe" (Coloniæ, 1574), a book largely consulted and commended by subsequent historians. But the work of principal value in our researches is his "Opus Epistolarum," being a collection of his multifarious correspondence with the most considerable persons of his time, whether in political or literary life. The letters are in Latin, and extend from the year 1488 to the time of his death. Atlhough not conspicuous for elegance of diction, they are most valuable to the historian, from the fidelity and general accuracy of the details, as well as for the intelligent criticism in which they abound, for all which uncommon facilities were afforded by the writer's intimacy with the leading

actors and the most recondite sources of information of the period.

This high character is fully authorized by the judgments of those best qualified to pronounce on their merits,—Martyr's own contemporaries. Among these, Dr. Galindez de Carbajal, a counsellor of King Ferdinand and constantly employed in the highest concerns of state, commends these epistles as "the work of a learned and upright man, well calculated to throw light on the transactions of the period." (Anales, MS., prólogo.) Alvaro Gomez, another contemporary who survived Martyr, in the Life of Ximenes, which he was selected to write by the University of Alcalá, declares that "Martyr's Letters abundantly compensate by their fidelity for the unpolished style in which they are written." (De Rebus gestis, fol. 6.) And John de Vergara, a name of the highest celebrity in the literary annals of the period, expresses himself in the following emphatic terms: "I know no record of the time more accurate and valuable. I myself have often witnessed the promptness with which he put down things the moment they occurred. I have sometimes seen him write one or two letters while they were setting the table; for, as he did not pay much attention to style and mere finish of expression, his composition required but little time, and experienced no interruption from his ordinary avocations." (See his letter to Florian de Ocampo, apud Quintanilla y Mendoza, Archetypo de Virtudes, Espejo de Prelados, el Venerable Padre y Siervo de Dios, F. Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros (Palermo, 1653), Archivo, p. 4.) This account of the precipitate manner in which the epistles were composed may help to explain the cause of the occasional inconsistencies and anachronisms that are to be found in them, and which their author, had he been more patient of the labor of revision, would doubtless have corrected. But he seems to have had little relish for this, even in his more elaborate works, composed with a view to publication. (See his own honest confessions in his book "De Rebus Oceanicis," dec. 8, cap. 8, 9.) After all, the errors, such as they are, in his Epistles, may probably be chiefly charged on the publisher. The first edition appeared at Alcalá de Henares, in 1530, about four years after the author's death. It has now become exceedingly rare. The second and last, being the one used in the present History, came out in a more beautiful form from the Elzevir press, Amsterdam, in 1670, folio. Of this also but a small number of copies were struck off. The learned editor takes much credit to himself for having purified the work from many errors, which had flowed from the heedlessness of his predecessor. It will not be difficult to detect several yet remaining,—such, for example, as a memorable letter on the *lues venerea* (No. 68), obviously misplaced, even according to its own date; and that numbered 168, in which two letters are evidently blended into one. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples.—It is very desirable

that an edition of this valuable correspondence should be published, under the care of some one qualified to illustrate it by his intimacy with the history of the period, as well as to correct the various inaccuracies which have crept into it, whether through the carelessness of the author or of his editors.

I have been led into this length of remark by some strictures which met my eye in the recent work of Mr. Hallam, who intimates his belief that the Epistles of Martyr, instead of being written at their respective dates, were produced by him at some later period (Introduction to the Literature of Europe (London, 1837), vol. i. pp. 439–441); a conclusion which I suspect this acute and candid critic would have been slow to adopt, had he perused the correspondence in connection with the history of the times, or weighed the unqualified testimony borne by contemporaries to its minute accuracy.

CHAPTER XV

WAR OF GRANADA—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF THE CITY OF GRANADA

1490–1492

The Infanta Isabella affianced to the Prince of Portugal—Isabella deposes Judges at Valladolid—Encampment before Granada—The Queen surveys the City—Moslem and Christian Chivalry—Conflagration of the Christian Camp—Erection of Santa Fe—Capitulation of Granada—Results of the War—Its moral Influence—Its military Influence—Fate of the Moors—Death and Character of the Marquis of Cadiz

IN the spring of 1490, ambassadors arrived from Lisbon for the purpose of carrying into effect the treaty of marriage which had been arranged between Alonso, heir of the Portuguese monarchy, and Isabella, infanta of Castile. An alliance with this kingdom, which from its contiguity possessed such ready means of annoyance to Castile, and which had shown such willingness to employ them in enforcing the pretensions of Joanna Beltraneja, was an object of importance to Ferdinand and Isabella. No inferior consideration could have reconciled the queen to a separation from this beloved daughter, her eldest child, whose gentle and uncommonly amiable disposition seems to have endeared her beyond their other children to her parents.

The ceremony of the affiancing took place at Seville, in the month of April, Don Fernando de Silveira appearing as the representative of the

prince of Portugal; and it was followed by a succession of splendid *fêtes* and tourneys. Lists were enclosed, at some distance from the city, on the shores of the Guadalquivir, and surrounded with galleries hung with silk and cloth of gold, and protected from the noontide heat by canopies or awnings, richly embroidered with the armorial bearings of the ancient houses of Castile. The spectacle was graced by all the rank and beauty of the court, with the infanta Isabella in the midst, attended by seventy noble ladies, and a hundred pages of the royal household. The cavaliers of Spain, young and old, thronged to the tournament, as eager to win laurels on the mimic theatre of war, in the presence of so brilliant an assemblage, as they had shown themselves in the sterner contests with the Moors. King Ferdinand, who broke several lances on the occasion, was among the most distinguished of the combatants for personal dexterity and horsemanship. The martial exercises of the day were relieved by the more effeminate recreations of dancing and music in the evening; and every one seemed willing to welcome the season of hilarity, after the long-protracted fatigues of war.[1]

In the following autumn, the infanta was escorted into Portugal by the cardinal of Spain, the grand master of St. James, and a numerous and magnificent retinue. Her dowry exceeded that usually assigned to the infantas of Castile, by five

[1] Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1490.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 95.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, pp. 404, 405.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 3, cap. 127.—La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. p. 19.—Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 452.

hundred marks of gold and a thousand of silver; and her wardrobe was estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins. The contemporary chroniclers dwell with much complacency on these evidences of the stateliness and splendor of the Castilian court. Unfortunately, these fair auspices were destined to be clouded too soon by the death of the prince, her husband.[2]

No sooner had the campaign of the preceding year been brought to a close than Ferdinand and Isabella sent an embassy to the king of Granada, requiring a surrender of his capital, conformably to his stipulations at Loja, which guaranteed this on the capitulation of Baza, Almeria, and Guadix. That time had now arrived. King Abdallah, however, excused himself from obeying the summons of the Spanish sovereign, replying that he was no longer his own master, and that, although he had the strongest desire to keep his engagements, he was prevented by the inhabitants of the city, now swollen much beyond its natural population, who resolutely insisted on its defence.[3]

It is not probable that the Moorish king did any great violence to his feelings in this evasion of a

[2] Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. pp. 452–456.—Florez, Reynas Cathólicas, p. 845.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 129.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 3.

[3] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 41.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 90.—Neither the Arabic nor Castilian authorities impeach the justice of the summons made by the Spanish sovereigns. I do not, however, find any other foundation for the obligation imputed to Abdallah in them than that monarch's agreement during his captivity at Loja, in 1486, to surrender his capital in exchange for Guadix, provided the latter should be conquered within six months. Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, p. 275.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. iv. p. 418.

promise extorted from him in captivity. At least it would seem so from the hostile movements which immediately succeeded. The people of Granada resumed all at once their ancient activity, foraying into the Christian territories, surprising Alhendin and some other places of less importance, and stirring up the spirit of revolt in Guadix and other conquered cities. Granada, which had slept through the heat of the struggle, seemed to revive at the very moment when exertion became hopeless.

Ferdinand was not slow in retaliating these acts of aggression. In the spring of 1490, he marched with a strong force into the cultivated plain of Granada, sweeping off, as usual, the crops and cattle, and rolling the tide of devastation up to the very walls of the city. In this campaign he conferred the honor of knighthood on his son, Prince John, then only twelve years of age, whom he had brought with him, after the ancient usage of the Castilian nobles, of training up their children from very tender years in the Moorish wars. The ceremony was performed on the banks of the grand canal, under the battlements almost of the beleaguered city. The dukes of Cadiz and Medina Sidonia were Prince John's sponsors; and, after the completion of the ceremony, the new knight conferred the honors of chivalry in like manner on several of his young companions-in-arms.[4]

[4] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 176.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 130.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 85.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 309.

In the following autumn, Ferdinand repeated his ravages in the vega, and at the same time appearing before the disaffected city of Guadix with a force large enough to awe it into submission, proposed an immediate investigation of the conspiracy. He promised to inflict summary justice on all who had been in any degree concerned in it; at the same time offering permission to the inhabitants, in the abundance of his clemency, to depart with all their personal effects wherever they would, provided they should prefer this to a judicial investigation of their conduct. This politic proffer had its effect. There were few, if any, of the citizens who had not been either directly concerned in the conspiracy or privy to it. With one accord, therefore, they preferred exile to trusting to the tender mercies of their judges. In this way, says the Curate of Los Palacios, by the mystery of our Lord, was the ancient city of Guadix brought again within the Christian fold: the mosques were converted into Christian temples, filled with the harmonies of Catholic worship, and the pleasant places, which for nearly eight centuries had been trampled under the foot of the infidel, once more restored to the followers of the Cross.

A similar policy produced similar results in the cities of Almeria and Baza, whose inhabitants, evacuating their ancient homes, transported themselves, with such personal effects as they could carry, to the city of Granada, or the coast of Africa. The space thus opened by the fugitive

population was quickly filled by the rushing tide of Spaniards.[5]

It is impossible at this day to contemplate these events with the triumphant swell of exultation with which they are recorded by contemporary chroniclers. That the Moors were guilty (though not so generally as pretended) of the alleged conspiracy, is not in itself improbable, and is corroborated indeed by the Arabic statements. But the punishment was altogether disproportionate to the offence. Justice might surely have been satisfied by a selection of the authors and principal agents of the meditated insurrection; for no overt act appears to have occurred. But avarice was too strong for justice; and this act, which is in perfect conformity to the policy systematically pursued by the Spanish crown for more than a century afterwards, may be considered as one of the first links in the long chain of persecution which terminated in the expulsion of the Moriscos.

During the following year, 1491, a circumstance occurred illustrative of the policy of the present government in reference to ecclesiastical matters. The chancery of Valladolid having appealed to the pope in a case coming within its own exclusive jurisdiction, the queen commanded Alonso de Valdivieso, bishop of Leon, the president of the court, together with all the auditors, to be removed from their respective offices, which she delivered to a

[5] Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 131, 132.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 97.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 41.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 84.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. iv. p. 424.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 309, 310.

new board, having the bishop of Oviedo at its head. This is one among many examples of the constancy with which Isabella, notwithstanding her reverence for religion and respect for its ministers, refused to compromise the national independence by recognizing in any degree the usurpations of Rome. From this dignified attitude, so often abandoned by her successors, she never swerved for a moment during the course of her long reign.[6]

The winter of 1490 was busily occupied with preparations for the closing campaign against Granada. Ferdinand took command of the army in the month of April, 1491, with the purpose of sitting down before the Moorish capital, not to rise until its final surrender. The troops, which mustered in the Val de Velillos, are computed by most historians at fifty thousand horse and foot, although Martyr, who served as a volunteer, swells the number to eighty thousand. They were drawn from the different cities, chiefly, as usual, from Andalusia, which had been stimulated to truly gigantic efforts throughout this protracted war,[7] and from the nobility of every quarter, many of whom, wearied out with the contest, contented themselves with sending their quotas, while many others, as the marquises of Cadiz and Villena, the

[6] Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1491.

[7] According to Zuñiga, the quota furnished by Seville this season amounted to 6000 foot and 500 horse, who were recruited by fresh reinforcements no less than five times during the campaign. Annales de Sevilla, p. 406.—The supplies drawn from the northern provinces of Guiposcoa and Alava amounted to only 1000 foot, 450 crossbowmen, and 550 lancers, who were to keep the field for sixty days.—Col. de Cédulas, tom. iii. no. 43; tom. iv. no. 31.

counts of Tendilla, Cabra, and Ureña, and Alonso de Aguilar, appeared in person, eager, as they had borne the brunt of so many hard campaigns, to share in the closing scene of triumph.

On the 26th of the month the army encamped near the fountain of Ojos de Huescar, in the vega, about two leagues distant from Granada. Ferdinand's first movement was to detach a considerable force, under the marquis of Villena, which he subsequently supported in person with the remainder of the army, for the purpose of scouring the fruitful regions of the Alpujarras, which served as the granary of the capital. This service was performed with such unsparing rigor that no less than twenty-four towns and hamlets in the mountains were ransacked and razed to the ground. After this, Ferdinand returned loaded with spoil to his former position on the banks of the Xenil, in full view of the Moorish metropolis, which seemed to stand alone, like some sturdy oak, the last of the forest, bidding defiance to the storm which had prostrated all its brethren.

Notwithstanding the failure of all external resources, Granada was still formidable from its local position and its defences. On the east it was fenced in by a wild mountain barrier, the *Sierra Nevada,* whose snow-clad summits diffused a grateful coolness over the city through the sultry heats of summer. The side towards the vega, facing the Christian encampment, was encircled by walls and towers of massive strength and solidity. The population, swelled to two hundred thousand by the immigration from the surrounding

country, was likely, indeed, to be a burden in a protracted siege; but among them were twenty thousand, the flower of the Moslem chivalry, who had escaped the edge of the Christian sword. In front of the city, for an extent of nearly ten leagues, lay unrolled the magnificent vega,—

> "Fresca y regalada vega,
> Dulce recreacion de damas
> Y de hombres gloria immensa,"—

whose prolific beauties could scarcely be exaggerated in the most florid strains of the Arabian minstrel, and which still bloomed luxuriant, notwithstanding the repeated ravages of the preceding season.[8]

The inhabitants of Granada were filled with indignation at the sight of their enemy, thus encamped under the shadow, as it were, of their battlements. They sallied forth in small bodies, or singly, challenging the Spaniards to equal encounter. Numerous were the combats which took place between the high-mettled cavaliers on both sides, who met on the level arena, as on a tilting-ground, where they might display their prowess

[8] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 42.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 100.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 89.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 18.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 177.—Martyr remarks that the Genoese merchants, "voyagers to every clime, declare this to be the largest fortified city in the world." Casiri has collected a body of interesting particulars respecting the wealth, population, and social habits of Granada, from various Arabic authorities. Bibliotheca Escurialensis, tom. ii. pp. 247–260.—The French work of Laborde, Voyage pittoresque (Paris, 1807), and the English one of Murphy, Engravings of Arabian Antiquities of Spain (London, 1816), do ample justice in their finished designs to the general topography and architectural magnificence of Granada.

in the presence of the assembled beauty and chivalry of their respective nations; for the Spanish camp was graced, as usual, by the presence of queen Isabella and the infantas, with the courtly train of ladies who had accompanied their royal mistress from Alcalá la Real. The Spanish ballads glow with picturesque details of these knightly tourneys, forming the most attractive portion of this romantic minstrelsy, which, celebrating the prowess of Moslem as well as Christian warriors, sheds a dying glory round the last hours of Granada.[9]

The festivity which reigned throughout the camp on the arrival of Isabella did not divert her attention from the stern business of war. She superintended the military preparations, and personally inspected every part of the encampment. She appeared on the field superbly mounted, and

[9] On one occasion, a Christian knight having discomfited with a handful of men a much superior body of Moslem chivalry, King Abdallah testified his admiration of his prowess by sending him on the following day a magnificent present, together with his own sword superbly mounted. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 178.) The Moorish ballad beginning

"Al Rey Chico de Grenada"

describes the panic occasioned in the city by the Christian encampment on the Xenil:

"Por ese fresco Genil
un campo viene marchando,
todo de lucida gente,
las armas van relumbrando.
"Las vanderas traen tendidas,
y un estandarte dorado;
el General de esta gente
es el invicto Fernando.
Y tambien viene la Reyna,
Muger del Rey don Fernando,
la qual tiene tanto esfuerzo
que anima a qualquier soldado."

dressed in complete armor; and, as she visited the different quarters and reviewed her troops, she administered words of commendation or sympathy, suited to the condition of the soldier.[10]

On one occasion she expressed a desire to take a nearer survey of the city. For this purpose a house was selected, affording the best point of view, in the little village of Zubia, at no great distance from Granada. The king and queen stationed themselves before a window which commanded an unbroken prospect of the Alhambra and the most beautiful quarter of the town. In the mean while, a considerable force, under the marquis duke of Cadiz, had been ordered, for the protection of the royal persons, to take up a position between the village and the city of Granada, with strict injunctions on no account to engage the enemy, as Isabella was unwilling to stain the pleasures of the day with unnecessary effusion of blood.

The people of Granada, however, were too impatient long to endure the presence and, as they deemed it, the bravado of their enemy. They burst forth from the gates of the capital, dragging along with them several pieces of ordnance, and commenced a brisk assault on the Spanish lines. The latter sustained the shock with firmness, till the marquis of Cadiz, seeing them thrown into some disorder, found it necessary to assume the offensive, and, mustering his followers around him, made one of those desperate charges which had so often broken the enemy. The Moorish

[10] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 101.

cavalry faltered, but might have disputed the ground, had it not been for the infantry, which, composed of the rabble population of the city, was easily thrown into confusion, and hurried the horse along with it. The rout now became general. The Spanish cavaliers, whose blood was up, pursued to the very gates of Granada; "and not a lance," says Bernaldez, "that day, but was dyed in the blood of the infidel." Two thousand of the enemy were slain and taken in the engagement, which lasted only a short time; and the slaughter was stopped only by the escape of the fugitives within the walls of the city.[11]

About the middle of July, an accident occurred in the camp, which was like to have been attended with fatal consequences. The queen was lodged in a superb pavilion, belonging to the marquis of Cadiz, and always used by him in the Moorish war. By the carelessness of one of her attendants, a lamp was placed in such a situation that during the night, perhaps owing to a gust of wind, it set fire to the drapery or loose hangings of the pavilion, which was instantly in a blaze. The flame communicated with fearful rapidity to the neighboring tents, made of light, combustible materials, and the camp was menaced with general conflagration. This occurred at the dead of night, when all

[11] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 101.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 42.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 90.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 133.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 88.—Isabella afterwards caused a Franciscan monastery to be built in commemoration of this event at Zubia, where, according to Mr. Irving, the house from which she witnessed the action is to be seen at the present day. See Conquest of Granada, chap. 90, note.

but the sentinels were buried in sleep. The queen, and her children, whose apartments were near hers, were in great peril, and escaped with difficulty, though fortunately without injury. The alarm soon spread. The trumpets sounded to arms, for it was supposed to be some night attack of the enemy. Ferdinand, snatching up his arms hastily, put himself at the head of his troops, but, soon ascertaining the nature of the disaster, contented himself with posting the marquis of Cadiz, with a strong body of horse, over against the city, in order to repel any sally from that quarter. None, however, was attempted, and the fire was at length extinguished without personal injury, though not without loss of much valuable property, in jewels, plate, brocade, and other costly decorations of the tents of the nobility.[12]

In order to guard against a similar disaster, as well as to provide comfortable quarters for the army, should the siege be so long protracted as to require it, it was resolved to build a town of substantial edifices on the place of the present encampment. The plan was immediately put in execution. The work was distributed in due proportions among the troops of the several cities and of the great nobility; the soldier was on a sudden converted into an artisan, and, instead of war, the camp echoed with the sounds of peaceful labor.

In less than three months this stupendous task

[12] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 91.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 101.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. p. 673.—Bleda, Corónica, p. 619.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 18.

was accomplished. The spot so recently occupied by light, fluttering pavilions was thickly covered with solid structures of stone and mortar, comprehending, besides dwelling-houses, stables for a thousand horses. The town was thrown into a quadrangular form, traversed by two spacious avenues, intersecting each other at right angles in the centre, in the form of a cross, with stately portals at each of the four extremities. Inscriptions on blocks of marble, in the various quarters, recorded the respective shares of the several cities in the execution of the work. When it was completed, the whole army was desirous that the new city should bear the name of their illustrious queen; but Isabella modestly declined this tribute, and bestowed on the place the title of *Santa Fe,* in token of the unshaken trust manifested by her people throughout this war in Divine Providence. With this name it still stands as it was erected in 1491, a monument of the constancy and enduring patience of the Spaniards, "the only city in Spain," in the words of a Castilian writer, "that has never been contaminated by the Moslem heresy." [13]

The erection of Santa Fe by the Spaniards

[13] Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. pp. 344, 348.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 91.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 18.—Hita, who embellishes his florid prose with occasional extracts from the beautiful ballad poetry of Spain, gives one commemorating the erection of Santa Fe:

"Cercada esta Santa Fe
con mucho lienzo encerado
al rededor muchas tiendas
de seda, oro, y brocado.
"Donde estan Duques, y Condes,
Señores de gran estado," etc.
Guerras de Granada, p. 515.

struck a greater damp into the people of Granada than the most successful military achievement could have done. They beheld the enemy setting foot on their soil with a resolution never more to resign it. They already began to suffer from the rigorous blockade, which effectually excluded supplies from their own territories, while all communication with Africa was jealously intercepted. Symptoms of insubordination had begun to show themselves among the overgrown population of the city, as it felt more and more the pressure of famine. In this crisis, the unfortunate Abdallah and his principal counsellors became convinced that the place could not be maintained much longer; and at length, in the month of October, propositions were made, through the vizier Abul Cazim Abdelmalic, to open a negotiation for the surrender of the place. The affair was to be conducted with the utmost caution; since the people of Granada, notwithstanding their precarious condition and their disquietude, were buoyed up by indefinite expectations of relief from Africa or some other quarter.

The Spanish sovereigns intrusted the negotiation to their secretary, Fernando de Zafra, and to Gonsalvo de Cordova, the latter of whom was selected for this delicate business from his uncommon address and his familiarity with the Moorish habits and language. Thus the capitulation of Granada was referred to the man who acquired in her long wars the military science which enabled him, at a later period, to foil the most distinguished generals of Europe.

The conferences were conducted by night, with the utmost secrecy, sometimes within the walls of Granada, and at others in the little hamlet of Churriana, about a league distant from it. At length, after large discussion on both sides, the terms of capitulation were definitely settled, and ratified by the respective monarchs on the 25th of November, 1491.[14]

The conditions were of similar though somewhat more liberal import than those granted to Baza. The inhabitants of Granada were to retain possession of their mosques, with the free exercise of their religion, with all its peculiar rites and ceremonies; they were to be judged by their own laws, under their own cadis or magistrates, subject to the general control of the Castilian governor; they were to be unmolested in their ancient usages, manners, language, and dress; to be protected in the full enjoyment of their property, with the right of disposing of it on their own account, and of migrating when and where they would; and to

[14] Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 74.—Giovio, De Vitâ Gonsalvi, apud Vitæ Illust. Virorum, pp. 211, 212.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 236.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 316, 317.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 42.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 178. —Marmol, however, assigns the date in the text to a separate capitulation respecting Abdallah, dating that made in behalf of the city three days later. (Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 19.) This author has given the articles of the treaty with greater fulness and precision than any other Spanish historian.*

* [Both treaties—that for the surrender of the city and the private capitulation with the Moorish monarch—bore the same date, which, with the substance, is correctly given in the text. They have been published in full, from documents—but, apparently, not the original documents—at Simancas, in the 8th volume of the Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España.—K.]

ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC AT THE CAPITULATION OF GRANADA

The conferences were conducted by night, with the utmost secrecy, sometimes within the walls of Granada and sometimes in the little hamlet of Churriana, about a league distant from it. At length, after much discussion on both sides, the terms of capitulation were definitely settled, and confirmed by the respective monarchs on the 25th of November.

The articles were of similar though somewhat more liberal import than those granted to Baza. The inhabitants of Granada were to retain possession of their mosques, with the free exercise of their religion, with all its peculiar rites and ceremonies. They were to be judged by their own laws, by their own cadis or magistrates, subject to the control of the Castilian governor; they were to retain their ancient usages, and be protected in the full enjoyment of their property, with the right of disposing of it on their own account, and of emigrating when and where they would; and to

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[1] Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 74.—Giovio, De Vitâ Gonsalvi, apud Vitæ Duor. Virorum, pp. 211, 212.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 236.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. II. pp. 316, 317.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. III. cap. 46.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 178.—Garibay, however, assigns the date in the text to a separate capitulation respecting Abdallah, dating that made in behalf of the city three days later. (Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 19.) The author has given the articles of the treaty with greater fulness and precision than any other Spanish historian.*

* [Both treaties—that for the surrender of the city and the private capitulation with the Moorish monarch—bore the same date, which, with the substance, is correctly given in the text. They have been published in full, from documents—but, apparently, not the original documents—at Simancas, in the 8th volume of the Col. de Doc. inéd. para la Hist. de España.—K.]

Goupil & Cie Paris.

be furnished with vessels for the conveyance of such as chose within three years to pass into Africa. No heavier taxes were to be imposed than those customarily paid to their Arabic sovereigns, and none whatever before the expiration of three years. King Abdallah was to reign over a specified territory in the Alpujarras, for which he was to do homage to the Castilian crown. The artillery and the fortifications were to be delivered into the hands of the Christians, and the city was to be surrendered in sixty days from the date of the capitulation. Such were the principal terms of the surrender of Granada, as authenticated by the most accredited Castilian and Arabic authorities; which I have stated the more precisely, as affording the best data for estimating the extent of Spanish perfidy in later times.[15]

The conferences could not be conducted so secretly but that some report of them got air among the populace of the city, who now regarded Abdallah with an evil eye for his connection with the Christians. When the fact of the capitulation became known, the agitation speedily mounted

[15] Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 19.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 42.—Zurita, Anales, tom. ii. cap. 90.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 317, 318.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.—Martyr adds that the principal Moorish nobility were to remove from the city. (Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 92.) Pedraza, who has devoted a volume to the history of Granada, does not seem to think the capitulations worth specifying. Most of the modern Castilians pass very lightly over them. They furnish too bitter a comment on the conduct of subsequent Spanish monarchs. Marmol and the judicious Zurita agree in every substantial particular with Conde, and this coincidence may be considered as establishing the actual terms of the treaty.

into an open insurrection, which menaced the safety of the city, as well as of Abdallah's person. In this alarming state of things, it was thought best by that monarch's counsellors to anticipate the appointed day of surrender; and January 2, 1492, was accordingly fixed on for that purpose.

Every preparation was made by the Spaniards for performing this last act of the drama with suitable pomp and effect. The mourning which the court had put on for the death of Prince Alonso of Portugal, occasioned by a fall from his horse a few months after his marriage with the infanta Isabella, was exchanged for gay and magnificent apparel. On the morning of the 2d, the whole Christian camp exhibited a scene of the most animating bustle. The grand cardinal Mendoza was sent forward at the head of a large detachment, comprehending his household troops, and the veteran infantry grown gray in the Moorish wars, to occupy the Alhambra preparatory to the entrance of the sovereigns.[16] Ferdinand stationed himself at some distance in the rear, near an Arabian mosque, since consecrated as the hermitage of St. Sebastian. He was surrounded by his courtiers, with their stately retinues, glittering in gorgeous panoply, and proudly displaying the

[16] Oviedo, whose narrative exhibits many discrepancies with those of other contemporaries, assigns this part to the count of Tendilla, the first captain-general of Granada. (Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.) But as this writer, though an eye-witness, was but thirteen or fourteen years of age at the time of the capture, and wrote some sixty years later from his early recollections, his authority cannot be considered of equal weight with that of persons who, like Martyr, described events as they were passing before them.

armorial bearings of their ancient houses. The queen halted still farther in the rear, at the village of Armilla.[17]

As the column under the grand cardinal advanced up the Hill of Martyrs, over which a road had been constructed for the passage of the artillery, he was met by the Moorish prince Abdallah, attended by fifty cavaliers, who, descending the hill, rode up to the position occupied by Ferdinand on the banks of the Xenil. As the Moor approached the Spanish king, he would have thrown himself from his horse and saluted his hand in token of homage; but Ferdinand hastily prevented him, embracing him with every mark of sympathy and regard. Abdallah then delivered up the keys of the Alhambra to his conqueror, saying, "They are thine, O king, since Allah so decrees it: use thy success with clemency and moderation." Ferdinand would have uttered some words of consolation to the unfortunate prince, but he moved forward with a dejected air to the spot occupied by Isabella, and, after similar acts of obeisance, passed on to join his family, who had preceded him with his most valuable effects on the route to the Alpujarras.[18]

The sovereigns during this time awaited with

[17] Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 75.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 238.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 90.—P. Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 92.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 309.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 20.

[18] Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, ubi supra.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 43.—Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 76.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 102.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 90.—Oviedo Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

impatience the signal of the occupation of the city by the cardinal's troops, which, winding slowly along the outer circuit of the walls, as previously arranged, in order to spare the feelings of the citizens as far as possible, entered by what is now called the gate of Los Molinos. In a short time, the large silver cross, borne by Ferdinand throughout the crusade, was seen sparkling in the sunbeams, while the standards of Castile and St. Jago waved triumphantly from the red towers of the Alhambra. At this glorious spectacle the choir of the royal chapel broke forth into the solemn anthem of the Te Deum, and the whole army, penetrated with deep emotion, prostrated themselves on their knees in adoration of the Lord of Hosts, who had at length granted the consummation of their wishes, in this last and glorious triumph of the Cross.[19] The grandees who surrounded Ferdinand then advanced towards the queen, and, kneeling down, saluted her hand in token of homage to her as sovereign of Granada. The procession took up its march towards the city, "the king and queen moving in the midst," says

[19] Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., ubi supra.—One is reminded of Tasso's description of the somewhat similar feelings exhibited by the crusaders on their entrance into Jerusalem:

"Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede,
Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge;
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gerusalemme salutar si sente.
* * * * * * *
Al gran piacer che quella prima vista
Dolcemente spirò nell' altrui petto,
Alta contrizion successe, mista
Di timoroso e riverente affeto
Osano appena d' innalzar la vista
Ver la città."

Gerusalemme Liberata, Cant. iii. st. 3, 5.

an historian, "emblazoned with royal magnificence; and, as they were in the prime of life, and had now achieved the completion of this glorious conquest, they seemed to represent even more than their wonted majesty. Equal with each other, they were raised far above the rest of the world. They appeared, indeed, more than mortal, and as if sent by Heaven for the salvation of Spain." [20]

In the mean while the Moorish king, traversing the route of the Alpujarras, reached a rocky eminence which commanded a last view of Granada. He checked his horse, and, as his eye for the last time wandered over the scenes of his departed greatness, his heart swelled, and he burst into tears. "You do well," said his more masculine mother, "to weep like a woman for what you could not defend like a man!" "Alas!" exclaimed the unhappy exile, "when were woes ever equal to

[20] Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 597.—Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 76.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1492.—Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 43.—Bleda, Corónica, pp. 621, 622.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 90.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 20.—L. Marineo, and indeed most of the Spanish authorities, represent the sovereigns as having postponed their entrance into the city until the 5th or 6th of January. A letter transcribed by Pedraza, addressed by the queen to the prior of Gaudalupe, one of her council, dated from the city of Granada on the 2d of January, 1492, shows the inaccuracy of this statement. See folio 76.

In Mr. Lockhart's picturesque version of the Moorish ballads the reader may find an animated description of the triumphant entry of the Christian army into Granada:

"There was crying in Granada when the sun was going down,
Some calling on the Trinity, some calling on Mahoun;
Here passed away the Koran, there in the cross was borne,
And here was heard the Christian bell, and there the Moorish horn;
Te Deum laudamus was up the Alcala sung;
Down from the Alhambra's minarets were all the crescents flung;
The arms thereon of Aragon and Castile they display;
One king comes in in triumph, one weeping goes away."

mine!" The scene of this event is still pointed out to the traveller by the people of the district; and the rocky height from which the Moorish chief took his sad farewell of the princely abodes of his youth is commemorated by the poetical title of *El ultimo Sospiro del Moro,* "The Last Sigh of the Moor."

The sequel of Abdallah's history is soon told. Like his uncle, El Zagal, he pined away in his barren domain of the Alpujarras, under the shadow, as it were, of his ancient palaces. In the following year he passed over to Fez with his family, having commuted his petty sovereignty for a considerable sum of money paid him by Ferdinand and Isabella, and soon after fell in battle in the service of an African prince, his kinsman. "Wretched man," exclaims a caustic chronicler of his nation, "who could lose his life in another's cause, though he did not dare to die in his own! Such," continues the Arabian, with characteristic resignation, "was the immutable decree of destiny. Blessed be Allah, who exalteth and debaseth the kings of the earth, according to his divine will, in whose fulfilment consists that eternal justice which regulates all human affairs." The portal through which King Abdallah for the last time issued from his capital was at his request walled up, that none other might again pass through it. In this condition it remains to this day, a memorial of the sad destiny of the last of the kings of Granada.[21]

[21] Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 90.—Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 319, 320.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. iv. lib. 40, cap. 42.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moris-

The fall of Granada excited a general sensation throughout Christendom, where it was received as counterbalancing, in a manner, the loss of Constantinople nearly half a century before. At Rome the event was commemorated by a solemn procession of the pope and cardinals to St. Peter's, where high mass was celebrated, and the public rejoicing continued for several days.[22] The intelligence was welcomed with no less satisfaction in England, where Henry the Seventh was seated on the throne. The circumstances attending it, as related by Lord Bacon, will not be devoid of interest for the reader.[23]

cos, lib. 1, cap. 20.—Mr. Irving, in his beautiful Spanish Sketch-book, "The Alhambra," devotes a chapter to mementos of Boabdil, in which he traces minutely the route of the deposed monarch after quitting the gates of his capital. The same author, in the Appendix to his Chronicle of Granada, concludes a notice of Abdallah's fate with the following description of his person: "A portrait of Boabdil el Chico is to be seen in the picture-gallery of the Generalife. He is represented with a mild, handsome face, a fair complexion, and yellow hair. His dress is of yellow brocade, relieved with black velvet; and he has a black velvet cap, surmounted with a crown. In the armory of Madrid are two suits of armor said to have belonged to him, one of solid steel, with very little ornament; the morion closed. From the proportions of these suits of armor, he must have been of full stature and vigorous form." Note, p. 398.

[22] Senarega, Commentarii de Rebus Genuensibus, apud Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (Mediolani, 1723–51), tom. xxiv. p. 531.—It formed the subject of a theatrical representation before the court at Naples, in the same year. This drama, or *Farsa,* as it is called by its distinguished author, Sannazaro, is an allegorical medley, in which Faith, Joy, and the false prophet Mahomet play the principal parts. The difficulty of a precise classification of this piece has given rise to warmer discussion among Italian critics than the subject may be thought to warrant. See Signorelli, Vicende della Coltura nelle due Sicilie (Napoli, 1810), tom. iii. pp. 543 et seq.

[23] "Somewhat about this time, came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, signifying the final conquest of

Thus ended the war of Granada, which is often compared by the Castilian chroniclers to that of Granada from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando, whose manner was, never to lose any virtue for the showing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom; showing, amongst other things, that the king would not by any means in person enter the city until he had first aloof seen the Cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by an herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous apostle St. James, and the holy father Innocent VIII., together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp, till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians, that had lived in bonds and servitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute unto God, by alms and relief extended to them all, for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

"The king, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the king of Spain, as far as one king can affect another, partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to France, upon the receipt of these letters, sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul, there to hear a declaration from the lord chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal, standing upon the uppermost step, or halfpace, before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them, letting them know that they were assembled in that consecrated place to sing unto God a new song. For that, said he, these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the infidels, nor enlarged and set farther the bounds of the Christian world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, kings of Spain; who have, to their immortal honor, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Granada, and the populous and mighty city of the same name from the Moors, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years, and more; for which this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks to God, and to celebrate this noble act of the king of Spain; who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new

Troy in its duration, and which certainly fully equalled the latter in variety of picturesque and romantic incidents, and in circumstances of poetical interest. With the surrender of its capital terminated the Arabian empire in the Peninsula, after an existence of seven hundred and forty-one years from the date of the original conquest. The consequences of this closing war were of the highest moment to Spain. The most obvious was the recovery of an extensive territory, hitherto held by a people whose difference of religion, language, and general habits made them not only incapable of assimilating with their Christian neighbors, but almost their natural enemies; while their local position was a matter of just concern, as interposed between the great divisions of the Spanish monarchy, and opening an obvious avenue to invasion from Africa. By the new conquest, moreover, the Spaniards gained a large extent of country, possessing the highest capacities for production, in its natural fruitfulness of soil, the temperature of climate, and the state of cultivation to which it had been brought by its ancient occupants; while its shores were lined with commodious havens, that afforded every facility for com-

provinces to the Christian faith. And the rather for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the Church of Christ, whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And, after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and Te Deum was sung." Lord Bacon, History of the Reign of King Henry VII., in his Works (ed. London, 1819), vol. v. pp. 85, 86.—See also Hall, Chronicle, p. 453.

merce. The scattered fragments of the ancient Visigothic empire were now again, with the exception of the little state of Navarre, combined into one great monarchy, as originally destined by nature; and Christian Spain gradually rose, by means of her new acquisitions, from a subordinate situation to the level of a first-rate European power.

The moral influence of the Moorish war, its influence on the Spanish character, was highly important. The inhabitants of the great divisions of the country, as in most countries during the feudal ages, had been brought too frequently into collision with each other to allow the existence of a pervading national feeling. This was particularly the case in Spain, where independent states insensibly grew out of the detached fragments of territory recovered at different times from the Moorish monarchy. The war of Granada subjected all the various sections of the country to one common action, under the influence of common motives of the most exciting interest; while it brought them in conflict with a race the extreme repugnance of whose institutions and character to their own served greatly to nourish the nationality of sentiment. In this way the spark of patriotism was kindled throughout the whole nation, and the most distant provinces of the Peninsula were knit together by a bond of union which has remained indissoluble.

The consequences of these wars in a military aspect are also worthy of notice. Up to this period, war had been carried on by irregular levies,

extremely limited in numerical amount and in period of service, under little subordination, except to their own immediate chiefs, and wholly unprovided with the apparatus required for extended operations. The Spaniards were even lower than most of the European nations in military science, as is apparent from the infinite pains of Isabella to avail herself of all foreign resources for their improvement. In the war of Granada, masses of men were brought together far greater than had hitherto been known in modern warfare. They were kept in the field not only through long campaigns, but far into the winter; a thing altogether unprecedented. They were made to act in concert, and the numerous petty chiefs brought into complete subjection to one common head, whose personal character enforced the authority of station. Lastly, they were supplied with all the requisite munitions, through the providence of Isabella, who introduced into the service the most skilful engineers from other countries, and kept in pay bodies of mercenaries,—as the Swiss, for example, reputed the best disciplined troops of that day. In this admirable school the Spanish soldier was gradually trained to patient endurance, fortitude, and thorough subordination; and those celebrated captains were formed, with that invincible infantry, which in the beginning of the sixteenth century spread the military fame of their country over all Christendom.

But, with all our sympathy for the conquerors, it is impossible without a deep feeling of regret to contemplate the decay and final extinction of a

race who had made such high advances in civilization as the Spanish Arabs; to see them driven from the stately palaces reared by their own hands, wandering as exiles over the lands which still blossomed with the fruits of their industry, and wasting away under persecution, until their very name as a nation was blotted out from the map of history.[24] It must be admitted, however, that they had long since reached their utmost limit of advancement as a people. The light shed over their history shines from distant ages; for during the later period of their existence they appear to have reposed in a state of torpid, luxurious indulgence, which would seem to argue that, when causes of external excitement were withdrawn, the inherent vices of their social institutions had incapacitated them for the further production of excellence. In this impotent condition, it was wisely ordered that their territory should be occupied by a people whose religion and more liberal form of government, however frequently misunderstood or perverted, qualified them for advancing still higher the interests of humanity.

It will not be amiss to terminate the narrative of the war of Granada with some notice of the fate of Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marquis duke of Cadiz; for he may be regarded in a peculiar manner as the hero of it, having struck the first stroke by the surprise of Alhama, and witnessed every

[24] The African descendants of the Spanish Moors, unable wholly to relinquish the hope of restoration to the delicious abodes of their ancestors, continued for many generations, and perhaps still continue, to put up a petition to that effect in their mosques every Friday. Pedraza, Antigüedad de Granada, fol. 7.

campaign till the surrender of Granada. A circumstantial account of his last moments is afforded by the pen of his worthy countryman, the Andalusian Curate of Los Palacios. The gallant marquis survived the close of the war only a short time, terminating his days at his mansion in Seville, on the 28th of August, 1492, by a disorder brought on by fatigue and incessant exposure. He had reached the forty-ninth year of his age, and, although twice married, left no legitimate issue. In his person he was of about the middle stature, of a compact, symmetrical frame, a fair complexion, with light hair inclining to red. He was an excellent horseman, and well skilled in most of the exercises of chivalry. He had the rare merit of combining sagacity with intrepidity in action. Though somewhat impatient, and slow to forgive, he was frank and generous, a warm friend, and a kind master to his vassals.[25]

He was strict in his observance of the Catholic worship, punctilious in keeping all the church festivals and in enforcing their observance throughout his domains; and in war he was a most devout champion of the Virgin. He was ambitious of acquisitions, but lavish in expenditure, especially in the embellishment and fortification of his towns and castles; spending on Alcalá de Guadaira, Xerez, and Alanis, the enormous sum of seventeen million maravedis. To the ladies he was courteous, as became a true knight. At his

[25] Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1492.—Don Henrique de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia, the ancient enemy, and, since the commencement of the Moorish war, the firm friend, of the marquis of Cadiz, died the 28th of August, on the same day with the latter.

death, the king and queen with the whole court went into mourning; " for he was a much-loved cavalier," says the Curate, " and was esteemed, like the Cid, both by friend and foe; and no Moor durst abide in that quarter of the field where his banner was displayed."

His body, after lying in state for several days in his palace at Seville, with his trusty sword by his side, with which he had fought all his battles, was borne in solemn procession by night through the streets of the city, which was everywhere filled with the deepest lamentation, and was finally deposited in the great chapel of the Augustine church, in the tomb of his ancestors. Ten Moorish banners, which he had taken in battle with the infidel before the war of Granada, were borne along at his funeral, " and still wave over his sepulchre," says Bernaldez, " keeping alive the memory of his exploits, as undying as his soul." The banners have long since mouldered into dust; the very tomb which contained his ashes has been sacrilegiously demolished; but the fame of the hero will survive as long as any thing like respect for valor, courtesy, unblemished honor, or any other attribute of chivalry, shall be found in Spain.[26]

[26] Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 411.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 104. The marquis left three illegitimate daughters by a noble Spanish lady, who all formed high connections. He was succeeded in his titles and estates, by the permission of Ferdinand and Isabella, by Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, the son of his eldest daughter, who had married with one of her kinsmen. Cadiz was subsequently annexed by the Spanish sovereigns to the crown, from which it had been detached in Henry IV.'s time, and considerable estates were given as an equivalent, together with the title of the Duke of Arcos, to the family of Ponce de Leon.

One of the chief authorities on which the account of the Moorish war rests is Andres Bernaldez, Curate of Los Palacios. He was a native of Fuente in Leon, and appears to have received his early education under the care of his grandfather, a notary of that place, whose commendations of a juvenile essay in historical writing led him later in life, according to his own account, to record the events of his time in the extended and regular form of a chronicle. After admission to orders, he was made chaplain to Deza, archbishop of Seville, and curate of Los Palacios, an Andalusian town not far from Seville, where he discharged his ecclesiastical functions with credit from 1488 to 1513, at which time, as we find no later mention of him, he probably closed his life with his labors.

Bernaldez had ample opportunities for accurate information relative to the Moorish war, since he lived, as it were, in the theatre of action, and was personally intimate with the most considerable men of Andalusia, especially the marquis of Cadiz, whom he has made the Achilles of his epic, assigning him a much more important part in the principal transactions than is always warranted by other authorities. His chronicle is just such as might have been anticipated from a person of lively imagination, and competent scholarship for the time, deeply dyed with the bigotry and superstition of the Spanish clergy in that century. There is no great discrimination apparent in the work of the worthy curate, who dwells with goggle-eyed credulity on the most absurd marvels, and expends more pages on an empty court show than on the most important schemes of policy. But, if he is no philosopher, he has, perhaps for that very reason, succeeded in making us completely master of the popular feelings and prejudices of the time; while he gives a most vivid portraiture of the principal scenes and actors in this stirring war, with all their chivalrous exploit and rich theatrical accompaniment. His credulity and fanaticism, moreover, are well compensated by a simplicity and loyalty of purpose which secure much more credit to his narrative than attaches to those of more ambitious writers, whose judgment is perpetually swayed by personal or party interests. The chronicle descends as late as 1513, although, as might be expected from the author's character, it is entitled to much less confidence in the discussion of events which fell without the scope of his personal observation. Notwithstanding its historical value is fully recognized by the Castilian critics, it has never been admitted to the press, but still remains engulfed in the ocean of manuscripts with which the Spanish libraries are deluged.

It is remarkable that the war of Granada, which is so admirably suited in all its circumstances to poetical purposes, should not have been more frequently commemorated by the epic muse. The only successful attempt in this way with which I am acquainted is the "Conquisto di Granata," by the Florentine Girolamo Gratiani, Modena, 1650. The author has taken the license, independently

of his machinery, of deviating very freely from the historic track; among other things, introducing Columbus and the Great Captain as principal actors in the drama, in which they played at most but a very subordinate part. The poem, which swells into twenty-six cantos, is in such repute with the Italian critics that Quadrigo does not hesitate to rank it "among the best epical productions of the age." A translation of this work has recently appeared at Nuremberg, from the pen of C. M. Winterling, which is much commended by the German critics.

Mr. Irving's late publication, the "Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada," has superseded all further necessity for poetry, and, unfortunately for me, for history. He has fully availed himself of all the picturesque and animating movements of this romantic era; and the reader who will take the trouble to compare his Chronicle with the present more prosaic and literal narrative will see how little he has been seduced from historical accuracy by the poetical aspect of his subject. The fictitious and romantic dress of his work has enabled him to make it the medium for reflecting more vividly the floating opinions and chimerical fancies of the age, while he has illuminated the picture with the dramatic brilliancy of coloring denied to sober history.

CHAPTER XVI

APPLICATION OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AT THE SPANISH COURT

1492

Early discoveries of the Portuguese—Of the Spaniards—Columbus —His Application at the Castilian Court—Rejected—Negotiations resumed—Favorable Disposition of the Queen—Arrangement with Columbus—He sails on his first Voyage—Indifference to the Enterprise—Acknowledgments due to Isabella

WHILE Ferdinand and Isabella were at Santa Fe, the capitulation was signed that opened the way to an extent of empire compared with which their recent conquests, and indeed all their present dominions, were insignificant. The extraordinary intellectual activity of the Europeans in the fifteenth century, after the torpor of ages, carried them forward to high advancement in almost every department of science, but especially nautical, whose surprising results have acquired for the age the glory of being designated as peculiarly that of maritime discovery. This was eminently favored by the political condition of modern Europe. Under the Roman empire, the traffic with the East naturally centred in Rome, the commercial capital of the West. After the dismemberment of the empire, it continued to be conducted principally through the channel of the

Italian ports, whence it was diffused over the remoter regions of Christendom. But these countries, which had now risen from the rank of subordinate provinces to that of separate, independent states, viewed with jealousy this monopoly of the Italian cities, by means of which the latter were rapidly advancing beyond them in power and opulence. This was especially the case with Portugal and Castile,[1] which, placed on the remote frontiers of the European continent, were far removed from the great routes of Asiatic intercourse; while this disadvantage was not compensated by such an extent of territory as secured consideration to some other of the European states, equally unfavorably situated for commercial purposes with themselves. Thus circumstanced, the two nations of Castile and Portugal were naturally led to turn their eyes on the great ocean which washed their western borders, and to seek in its hitherto unexplored recesses for new domains, and, if possible, strike out some undiscovered track towards the opulent regions of the East.

The spirit of maritime enterprise was fomented, and greatly facilitated in its operation, by the invention of the astrolabe, and the important discovery of the polarity of the magnet, whose first application to the purposes of navigation on an extended scale may be referred to the fifteenth

[1] Aragon, or rather Catalonia, maintained an extensive commerce with the Levant and the remote regions of the East during the Middle Ages, through the flourishing port of Barcelona. See Capmany y Montpalau, Memorias históricas sobre la Marina, Comercio y Artes de Barcelona (Madrid, 1779–92), passim.

century.[2] The Portuguese were the first to enter on the brilliant path of nautical discovery, which they pursued under the infant Don Henry with such activity that before the middle of the fifteenth century they had penetrated as far as Cape de Verd, doubling many a fearful headland which had shut in the timid navigator of former days; until at length, in 1486, they descried the lofty promontory which terminates Africa on the south, and which, hailed by King John the Second, under whom it was discovered, as the harbinger of the long-sought passage to the East, received the cheering appellation of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Spaniards, in the mean while, did not languish in the career of maritime enterprise.

[2] A council of mathematicians in the court of John II. of Portugal first devised the application of the ancient astrolabe to navigation, thus affording to the mariner the essential advantages appertaining to the modern quadrant. The discovery of the polarity of the needle, which vulgar tradition, sanctioned without scruple by Robertson, assigned to the Amalfite Flavio Gioja, is clearly proved to have occurred more than a century earlier. Tiraboschi, who investigates the matter with his usual erudition, passing by the doubtful reference of Guiot de Provins, whose age and personal identity even are contested, traces the familiar use of the magnetic needle as far back as the first half of the thirteenth century, by a pertinent passage from Cardinal Vitri, who died in 1244, and sustains this by several similar references to other authors of the same century. Capmany finds no notice of its use by the Castilian navigators earlier than 1403. It was not until considerably later in the fifteenth century that the Portuguese voyagers, trusting to its guidance, ventured to quit the Mediterranean and African coasts and extend their navigation to Madeira and the Azores. See Navarrete, Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles (Madrid, 1825–29), tom. i., introd., sec. 33.—Tiraboschi, Letteratura Italiana, tom. iv. pp. 173, 174.—Capmany, Mem. de Barcelona, tom. iii. part. 1, cap. 4.—Koch, Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe (Paris, 1814), tom. i. pp. 358–360.

Certain adventurers from the northern provinces of Biscay and Guipuscoa, in 1393, had made themselves masters of one of the smallest of the group of islands supposed to be the Fortunate Isles of the ancients, since known as the Canaries. Other private adventurers from Seville extended their conquests over these islands in the beginning of the following century. These were completed in behalf of the crown under Ferdinand and Isabella, who equipped several fleets for their reduction, which at length terminated in 1495 with that of Teneriffe.[3] From the commencement of their reign, Ferdinand and Isabella had shown an earnest solicitude for the encouragement of commerce and nautical science, as is evinced by a variety of regulations, which, however imperfect from the misconception of the true principles of trade in that day, are sufficiently indicative of the dispositions of the government.[4] Under them, and

[3] Four of the islands were conquered on behalf of private adventurers chiefly from Andalusia, before the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, and under their reign were held as the property of a noble Castilian family, named Peraza. The sovereigns sent a considerable armament from Seville in 1480, which subdued the great island of Canary on behalf of the crown, and another in 1493, which effected the reduction of Palma and Teneriffe after a sturdy resistance from the natives. Bernaldez postpones the last conquest to 1495. Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquía, tom. i. pp. 347–349.—Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 136, 203.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 64, 65, 66, 133.—Navarette, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. introd., sec. 28.

[4] Among the provisions of the sovereigns enacted previous to the present date may be noted those for regulating the coin and weights; for opening a free trade between Castile and Aragon; for security to Genoese and Venetian trading-vessels; for safe conduct to mariners and fishermen; for privileges to the seamen of Palos; for prohibiting the plunder of vessels wrecked on the coast;

indeed under their predecessors as far back as Henry the Third, a considerable traffic had been carried on with the western coast of Africa, from which gold-dust and slaves were imported into the city of Seville. The annalist of that city notices the repeated interference of Isabella in behalf of these unfortunate beings, by ordinances tending to secure them a more equal protection of the laws, or opening such social indulgences as might mitigate the hardships of their condition. A misunderstanding gradually arose between the subjects of Castile and Portugal, in relation to their respective rights of discovery and commerce on the African coast, which promised a fruitful source of collision between the two crowns, but which was happily adjusted by an article in the treaty of 1479, that terminated the war of the succession. By this it was settled that the right of traffic and of discovery on the western coast of Africa should be exclusively reserved to the Portuguese, who in their turn should resign all claims on the Canaries to the crown of Castile. The Spaniards, thus excluded from further progress to the south, seemed to have no other opening left for naval adventure than the hitherto untravelled regions of the great western ocean. Fortunately, at this juncture an individual appeared among them, in the person of Christopher Columbus, endowed with capacity for

and an ordinance of the very last year, requiring foreigners to take their return cargoes in the products of the country.—See these laws, as extracted from the Ordenanças Reales and the various public archives, in Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 11.

stimulating them to this heroic enterprise and conducting it to a glorious issue.[5]

This extraordinary man was a native of Genoa, of humble parentage, though perhaps honorable descent.[6] * He was instructed in his early youth

[5] Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, pp. 373, 374, 398.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. lib. 20, cap. 30, 34.—Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i., introd., sec. 21, 24.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. vii. p. 548.

[6] Spotorno, Memorials of Columbus (London, 1823), p. 14.—Senarega, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiv. p. 535.—Antonio Gallo, De Navigatione Columbi, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiii. p. 202.—It is very generally agreed that the father of Columbus exercised the craft of a wool-carder, or weaver. The admiral's son, Ferdinand, after some speculation on the genealogy of his illustrious parent, concludes with remarking that, after all, a noble descent would confer less lustre on him than to have sprung from such a father; a philosophical sentiment, indicating pretty strongly that he had no great ancestry to boast of. Ferdinand finds something extremely mysterious and typical in his father's name of *Columbus,* signifying a *dove,* in token of his being ordained to "carry the olive-branch and oil of baptism over the ocean, like Noah's dove, to denote the peace and union of the heathen people with the church, after they had been shut up in the ark of darkness and confusion." Fernando Colon, Historia del Almirante, cap. 1, 2, apud Barcia, Historiadores primitivos de las Indias occidentales (Madrid, 1749), tom. i.

* [Some twenty years ago the marquis Staglieno, an enthusiastic Italian antiquarian, established the fact that Dominico Colombo, the father of the admiral, owned and occupied the house No. 37 Vico Dritto di Ponticello, Genoa, during the earlier years of his son's life. In that house the great explorer was probably born. The evidence brought forward by the marquis seemed so convincing to the municipality of Genoa that it purchased the building in 1887 and placed a tablet upon its front, recording the associations connected with it. That Columbus was born in Genoa (or in one of the villages surrounding and really forming a part of the mediæval city) is an absolute certainty. And, though there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the assertion, even so stern an antiquarian as Mr. Harrisse is forced to admit that it is not unlikely that Columbus was born in the house which bears the tablet. Mr. Harrisse also brings forward evidence to show that Columbus was born at some time between March 15, 1446, and March 20, 1447. More definite than that no man can be. Justin Winsor, Christopher Columbus, p. 79, says, "The condition of knowledge respect-

at Pavia, where he acquired a strong relish for the mathematical sciences, in which he subsequently excelled. At the age of fourteen he engaged in a seafaring life, which he followed with little intermission till 1470; when, probably little more than thirty years of age,[7] he landed in Portugal, the

[7] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 131.—Muñoz, Historia del Nuevo-Mundo (Madrid, 1793), lib. 2, sec. 13.—There are no sufficient data for determining the period of Columbus's birth. The learned Muñoz places it in 1446. (Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 12. Navarrete, who has weighed the various authorities with caution, seems inclined to remove it back eight or ten years further, resting chiefly on a remark of Bernaldez, that he died in 1506, "in a good old age, at the age of seventy, a little more or less." (Cap. 131.) The expression is somewhat vague. In order to reconcile the facts with this hypothesis, Navarette is compelled to reject, as a chirographical blunder, a passage in a letter of the admiral,

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ing Columbus's early life was such, when Prescott wrote, that few would dispute his conclusion that it is hopeless to unravel the entanglement of events associated with the opening of his career. The critical discernment of Harrisse and other recent investigators has since then done something to make the confusion even more apparent by unsettling convictions too hastily assumed." We must undoubtedly agree with Winsor that "it may well be doubted if absolute clarification of the record is ever to be possible." He probably went to Portugal in 1473 or 1474 (not in 1470 as is commonly assumed). It is not likely that he visited Iceland. If he had gone there it would seem that he would have mentioned the fact when, in 1492, writing to the sovereigns respecting the magnitude of his discoveries, he spoke of the importance of the newly-discovered harbors, and said that he had sailed "from Guinea to England." A document shows him to have been in Savona, Italy, August 7, 1473. Then nothing more is known of him until May 5, 1487. On that day he was in Cordova, as appears from an entry upon the books of the Castilian treasury recording a gratuity "to Christobal Colomo, a stranger," of 3000 maravedis (about eighteen dollars). The admiral himself says in his journal on shipboard, January 14, 1493, that on the twentieth of that month he would have been in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella just seven years. That would mean from January 20, 1486; but the admiral was frequently inexact in his statements, and it is here very likely that his memory was at fault.—M.]

country to which adventurous spirits from all parts of the world then resorted, as the great theatre of maritime enterprise. After his arrival, he continued to make voyages to the then known parts of the world, and, when on shore, occupied himself with the construction and sale of charts and maps; while his geographical researches were considerably aided by the possession of papers belonging to an eminent Portuguese navigator, a deceased relative of his wife.* Thus stored with all that nautical science in that day could supply, and fortified by large practical experience, the reflecting mind of Columbus was naturally led to speculate on the existence of some other land beyond the western waters; and he conceived the possibility of reaching the eastern shores of Asia,

placing his birth in 1456, and to distort another passage in his book of "prophecies," which, if literally taken, would seem to establish his birth near the time assigned by Muñoz. Incidental allusions in some other authorities, speaking of Columbus's old age at or near the time of his death, strongly corroborate Navarrete's inference. (See Coleccion de Viages, tom. i., introd., sec. 54.)—Mr. Irving seems willing to rely exclusively on the authority of Bernaldez.

* [Of Felipa Moñiz, or Perestrello, the wife of Columbus, almost nothing is known. She bore him a son, Diego, who succeeded to his father's honors. It is more than probable that her husband deserted her. That she was legally married is unquestionable. The author of the Historia del Almirante records the fact, and that author was probably Ferdinand Columbus, the admiral's son by Beatrix Enriquez. Of Columbus's connection with Beatrix Enriquez there is no doubt. That he ever married her is unlikely. There is no record whatsoever of a marriage or of any baptisms of children. She was not recognized as vice-queen at any time. We catch no sight of her until Columbus in his will recommends her to his legitimate son, Diego, as one about whom his conscience is burdened. (When Columbus started on his third voyage he directed Diego to pay her 10,000 maravedis (about sixty dollars) per year). She survived the making of the will of Diego Columbus in 1523.—M.]

whose provinces of Zipango and Cathay were emblazoned in such gorgeous colors in the narratives of Mandeville and the Poli, by a more direct and commodious route than that which traversed the Eastern continent.[8]

The existence of land beyond the Atlantic, which was not discredited by some of the most enlightened ancients,[9] had become matter of common speculation at the close of the fifteenth century, when maritime adventure was daily disclosing the mysteries of the deep, and bringing to light new regions, that had hitherto existed only

[8] Antonio de Herrera, Historia general de las Indias occidentales (Amberes, 1728), tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7.—Gomara, Historia de las Indias, cap. 14, apud Barcia, Hist. primitivos, tom. ii.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 118.—Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i., introd., sec. 30.—Ferdinand Columbus enumerates three grounds on which his father's conviction of land in the west was founded. First, natural reason,—or conclusions drawn from science; secondly, authority of writers,—amounting to little more than vague speculations of the ancients; thirdly, testimony of sailors, comprehending, in addition to popular rumors of land described in western voyages, such relics as appeared to have floated to the European shores from the other side of the Atlantic. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 6–8.

[9] None of the intimations are so precise as that contained in the well-known lines of Seneca's Medea,

"Venient annis sæcula," etc.,

although, when regarded as a mere poetical vagary, it has not the weight which belongs to more serious suggestions, of similar import, in the writings of Aristotle and Strabo. The various allusions in the ancient classic writers to an undiscovered world form the subject of an elaborate essay in the Memorias da Acad. Real das Sciencias de Lisboa (tom. v. pp. 101–112), and are embodied in much greater detail in the first section of Humboldt's "Histoire de la Géographie du nouveau Continent;" a work in which the author, with his usual acuteness, has successfully applied the vast stores of his erudition and experience to the illustration of many interesting points connected with the discovery of the New World, and the personal history of Columbus.

in fancy. A proof of this popular belief occurs in a curious passage of the "Morgante Maggiore" of the Florentine poet Pulci, a man of letters, but not distinguished for scientific attainments beyond his day.[10] The passage is remarkable, independently of the cosmographical knowledge it implies, for its allusion to phenomena in physical science not established till more than a century later. The Devil, alluding to the vulgar superstition respecting the Pillars of Hercules, thus addresses his companion Rinaldo:

"Know that this theory is false; his bark
The daring mariner shall urge far o'er
The western wave, a smooth and level plain,
Albeit the earth is fashioned like a wheel.
Man was in ancient days of grosser mould,
And Hercules might blush to learn how far
Beyond the limits he had vainly set,
The dullest sea-boat soon shall wing her way.
Men shall descry another hemisphere.
Since to one common centre all things tend,
So earth, by curious mystery divine
Well balanced, hangs amid the starry spheres.
At our Antipodes are cities, states,
And thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore.
But see, the Sun speeds on his western path
To glad the nations with expected light."[11]

[10] It is probably the knowledge of this which has led some writers to impute part of his work to the learned Marsilio Ficino, and others, with still less charity and probability, to refer the authorship of the whole to Politian. Comp. Tasso, Opere (Venezia, 1735–42), tom. x. p. 129; and Crescimbeni, Istoria della volgar Poesia (Venezia, 1731), tom. iii. pp. 273, 274.

[11] Pulci, Morgante Maggiore, canto 25, st. 229, 230.—I have used blank verse, as affording facility for a more literal version than the corresponding *ottava rima* of the original. This passage of Pulci, which has not fallen under the notice of Humboldt, or any other writer on the same subject whom I have consulted, affords, probably, the most circumstantial prediction that is to be found of the existence of a western world. Dante, two centuries before, had

Columbus's hypothesis rested on much stronger ground than mere popular belief. What indeed was credulity with the vulgar, and speculation with the learned, amounted in his mind to a settled practical conviction, that made him ready to peril life and fortune on the result of the experiment. He was fortified still further in his conclusions by a correspondence with the learned Italian Toscanelli, who furnished him with a map of his own projection, in which the eastern coast of Asia was delineated opposite to the western frontier of Europe.[12]

intimated more vaguely his belief in an undiscovered quarter of the globe:

> "De' vostri sensi, ch' è del rimanente,
> Non vogliate negar l'esperienza,
> Diretro al sol, del mondo senza gente."
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> Inferno, cant. 26, v. 115.

[12] Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Col. dipl., no. 1.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 17.—It is singular that Columbus, in his visit to Iceland in 1477 * (see Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 4), should have learned nothing of the Scandinavian voyages to the northern shores of America in the tenth and following centuries; yet if he was acquainted with them it appears equally surprising that he should not have adduced the fact in support of his own hypothesis of the existence of land in the west, and that he should have taken a route so different from that of his predecessors in the path of discovery. It may be, however, as M. de Humboldt has well remarked, that the information he obtained in Iceland was too vague to suggest the idea that the lands thus discovered by the Northmen had any connection with the Indies, of which he was in pursuit. In Columbus's day, indeed, so little was understood of the true position of these countries that Greenland is laid down on the maps in the European seas, and as a peninsular prolongation of Scandinavia. See Humboldt, Géographie du nouveau Continent, tom. ii. pp. 118, 125.

* [It is not likely that Columbus ever visited Iceland. If he did, it is not probable that he ever heard of the Icelandic sagas with which we are now familiar, or that he would have paid much attention to the lands they described—lands so unlike those his imagination had placed before his eyes.—M.]

Filled with lofty anticipations of achieving a discovery which would settle a question of such moment, so long involved in obscurity, Columbus submitted the theory on which he had founded his belief in the existence of a western route to King John the Second of Portugal. Here he was doomed to encounter for the first time the embarrassments and mortifications which so often obstruct the conceptions of genius, too sublime for the age in which they are formed. After a long and fruitless negotiation, and a dishonorable attempt on the part of the Portuguese to avail themselves clandestinely of his information, he quitted Lisbon in disgust, determined to submit his proposals to the Spanish sovereigns, relying on their reputed character for wisdom and enterprise.[13]

The period of his arrival in Spain, being the latter part of 1484, would seem to have been the most unpropitious possible to his design. The nation was then in the heat of the Moorish war, and the sovereigns were unintermittingly engaged, as we have seen, in prosecuting their campaigns, or in active preparation for them. The large expenditure incident to this exhausted all their resources; and indeed the engrossing character of this domestic conquest left them little leisure for indulging in dreams of distant and doubtful discovery. Columbus, moreover, was unfortunate in his first channel of communication with the court.

[13] Herrera, Indias occidentales, tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 19.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 15.—Benzoni, Novi Orbis Historia, lib. 1, cap. 6.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 10.—Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. part. 3, cap. 4.

He was furnished by Fray Juan Perez de Marchena, guardian of the convent of La Rabida in Andalusia, who had early taken a deep interest in his plans, with an introduction to Fernando de Talavera, prior of Prado, and confessor of the queen, a person high in the royal confidence, and gradually raised through a succession of ecclesiastical dignities to the archiepiscopal see of Granada. He was a man of irreproachable morals, and of comprehensive benevolence for that day, as is shown in his subsequent treatment of the unfortunate Moriscos.[14] He was also learned; although his learning was that of the cloister, deeply tinctured with pedantry and superstition, and debased by such servile deference even to the errors of antiquity as at once led him to discountenance every thing like innovation or enterprise.[15]

With these timid and exclusive views, Talavera was so far from comprehending the vast conceptions of Columbus, that he seems to have regarded him as a mere visionary, and his hypothesis as involving principles not altogether orthodox. Ferdinand and Isabella, desirous of obtaining the opinion of the most competent judges on the merits of Columbus's theory, referred him to a council * selected by Talavera from the most emi-

[14] Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Talavera.

[15] Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 214.—Herrera, Indias occidentales, tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 11.—Muñoz postpones his advent to Spain

* [This council met at Salamanca, but it was in no way connected with the famous university of that city. The registers of the university contain no mention of it.—M.]

nent scholars of the kingdom, chiefly ecclesiastics, whose profession embodied most of the science of that day. Such was the apathy exhibited by this learned conclave, and so numerous were the impediments suggested by dulness, prejudice, or skepticism, that years glided away before it came to a decision. During this time, Columbus appears to have remained in attendance on the court, bearing arms occasionally in the campaigns, and experiencing from the sovereigns an unusual degree of deference and personal attention; an evidence of which is afforded in the disbursements repeatedly made by the royal order for his private expenses, and in the instructions issued to the municipalities of the different towns in Andalusia to supply him gratuitously with lodging and other personal accommodations.[16]

At length, however, Columbus, wearied out by this painful procrastination, pressed the court for a definite answer to his propositions; when he was informed that the council of Salamanca pronounced his scheme to be " vain, impracticable, and resting on grounds too weak to merit the support of the government." Many in the council, however, were too enlightened to acquiesce in this sentence of the majority. Some of the most considerable persons of the court, indeed, moved by the cogency of Columbus's arguments and affected by

to 1485, on the supposition that he offered his services to Genoa immediately after this rupture with Portugal. Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 21.

[16] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 104.—Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. sec. 60, 61, tom. ii. Col. dipl., nos. 2, 4.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL

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Goupil & Cie. Paris.

the elevation and grandeur of his views, not only cordially embraced his scheme, but extended their personal intimacy and friendship to him. Such, among others, were the grand cardinal Mendoza, a man whose enlarged capacity, and acquaintance with affairs, raised him above many of the narrow prejudices of his order, and Deza, archbishop of Seville, a Dominican friar, whose commanding talents were afterwards unhappily perverted in the service of the Holy Office, over which he presided as successor to Torquemada.[17] The authority of these individuals had undoubtedly great weight with the sovereigns, who softened the verdict of the junto by an assurance to Columbus that, "although they were too much occupied at present to embark in his undertaking, yet at the conclusion of the war they should find both time and inclination to treat with him." Such was the ineffectual result of Columbus's long and painful solicitation; and, far from receiving the qualified assurance of the sovereigns in mitigation of their refusal, he seems to have considered it as peremptory and final. In great dejection of mind, therefore, but without further delay, he quitted the court, and bent his way to the south, with the

[17] This prelate, Diego de Deza, was born of poor but respectable parents, at Toro. He early entered the Dominican order, where his learning and exemplary life recommended him to the notice of the sovereigns, who called him to court to take charge of Prince John's education. He was afterwards raised, through the usual course of episcopal preferment, to the metropolitan see of Seville. His situation as confessor of Ferdinand gave him great influence over that monarch, with whom he appears to have maintained an intimate correspondence to the day of his death. Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Deza.

apparently almost desperate intent of seeking out some other patron to his undertaking.[18]

Columbus had already visited his native city of Genoa, for the purpose of interesting it in his scheme of discovery; but the attempt proved unsuccessful. He now made application, it would seem, to the dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, successively, from the latter of whom he experienced much kindness and hospitality; but neither of these nobles, whose large estates lying along the sea-shore had often invited them to maritime adventure, was disposed to assume one which seemed too hazardous for the resources of the crown. Without wasting time in further solicitation, Columbus prepared with a heavy heart to bid adieu to Spain (1491) and carry his proposals to the king of France, from whom he had received a letter of encouragement while detained in Andalusia.[19]

[18] Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 11.—Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 215.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 25, 29.—Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i., introd., sec. 60.

[19] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 27.—Spotorno, Memorials of Columbus, pp. 31–33.—The last dates the application to Genoa prior to that to Portugal. A letter from the duke of Medina Celi to the cardinal of Spain, dated 19th March, 1493, refers to his entertaining Columbus as his guest for two years. It is very difficult to determine the date of these two years. If Herrera is correct in the statement that, after a five years' residence at court, whose commencement he had previously referred to 1484, he carried his proposals to the duke of Medina Celi (see cap. 7, 8), the two years may have intervened between 1489–1491. Navarrete places them between the departure from Portugal and the first application to the court of Castile, in 1486.* Some other writers, and among

* [According to the account of the duke of Medina Celi, Columbus, when received by him, was on his way from Portugal to seek

His progress, however, was arrested at the convent of La Rabida, which he visited previous to his departure,* by his friend the guardian, who prevailed on him to postpone his journey till another effort had been made to move the Spanish court in his favor. For this purpose the worthy ecclesiastic undertook an expedition in person to the newly-erected city of Santa Fe, where the sovereigns lay encamped before Granada. Juan Perez had formerly been confessor of Isabella, and was held in great consideration by her for his excellent qualities. On arriving at the camp, he was readily admitted to an audience, when he pressed the suit of Columbus with all the earnest-

them Muñoz and Irving, referring his application to Genoa to 1485, and his first appearance in Spain to a subsequent period, make no provision for the residence with the duke of Medina Celi. Mr. Irving, indeed, is betrayed into a chronological inaccuracy in speaking of a seven years' residence at the court in 1491, which he had previously noticed as having before begun in 1486. (Life of Columbus (London, 1828), comp. vol. i. pp. 109, 141.) In fact, the discrepancies among the earliest authorities are such as to render hopeless any attempt to settle with precision the chronology of Columbus's movements previous to his first voyage.

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the favor and assistance of the French king. The duke asserts that he would himself have furnished him with three or four caravels, but perceiving that the expedition was a fit one to be undertaken by the crown, he had by letter commended it to Isabella, and, at her request, had sent Columbus to the court. As the object of this statement, made on the return of Columbus, was to obtain a share in the advantages of the discovery, we may suspect the writer of having overrated his own services in the matter. Yet in the dearth or conflict of evidence the document seems entitled to more consideration than it has hitherto received, especially as the terms of it imply a reference to Isabella's acquaintance with the facts, perhaps to that of Columbus himself.—K.]

* [He probably visited La Rabida, "leading his little son by the hand," that he might leave his boy in the charge of Beatrix Enriquez.—M.]

ness and reasoning of which he was capable. The friar's eloquence was supported by that of several eminent persons whom Columbus during his long residence in the country had interested in his project, and who viewed with sincere regret the prospect of its abandonment. Among these individuals are particularly mentioned Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller-general of Castile, Louis de St. Angel, a fiscal officer of the crown of Aragon, and the marchioness of Moya, the personal friend of Isabella, all of whom exercised considerable influence over her counsels. Their representations, combined with the opportune season of the application, occurring at the moment when the approaching termination of the Moorish war allowed room for interest in other objects, wrought so favorable a change in the dispositions of the sovereigns that they consented to resume the negotiation with Columbus. An invitation was accordingly sent to him to repair to Santa Fe, and a considerable sum provided for his suitable equipment and his expenses on the road.[20]

Columbus, who lost no time in availing himself of this welcome intelligence, arrived at the camp in season to witness the surrender of Granada, when every heart, swelling with exultation at the triumphant termination of the war, was naturally disposed to enter with greater confidence on a new career of adventure. In his interview with the

[20] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. pp. 129, 130.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 31.—Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i., introd., sec. 60.

king and queen, he once more exhibited the arguments on which his hypothesis was founded. He then endeavored to stimulate the cupidity of his audience by picturing the realms of Mangi and Cathay, which he confidently expected to reach by this western route, in all the barbaric splendors which had been shed over them by the lively fancy of Marco Polo and other travellers of the Middle Ages; and he concluded with appealing to a higher principle, by holding out the prospect of extending the empire of the Cross over nations of benighted heathen, while he proposed to devote the profits of his enterprise to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. This last ebullition, which might well have passed for fanaticism in a later day, and given a visionary tinge to his whole project, was not quite so preposterous in an age in which the spirit of the crusades might be said still to linger, and the romance of religion had not yet been dispelled by sober reason. The more temperate suggestion of the diffusion of the gospel was well suited to affect Isabella, in whose heart the principle of devotion was deeply seated, and who, in all her undertakings, seems to have been far less sensible to the vulgar impulses of avarice or ambition than to any argument connected, however remotely, with the interests of religion.[21]

Amidst all these propitious demonstrations towards Columbus, an obstacle unexpectedly arose in the nature of his demands, which stipulated for

[21] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Primer Viage de Colon, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. pp. 2, 117.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 13.

himself and heirs the title and authority of Admiral and Viceroy over all lands discovered by him, with one-tenth of the profits. This was deemed wholly inadmissible. Ferdinand, who had looked with cold distrust on the expedition from the first, was supported by the remonstrances of Talavera, the new archbishop of Granada, who declared that " such demands savored of the highest degree of arrogance, and would be unbecoming in their Highnesses to grant to a needy foreign adventurer." Columbus, however, steadily resisted every attempt to induce him to modify his propositions. On this ground the conferences were abruptly broken off, and he once more turned his back upon the Spanish court, resolved rather to forego his splendid anticipations of discovery, at the very moment when the career so long sought was thrown open to him, than surrender one of the honorable distinctions due to his services. This last act is perhaps the most remarkable exhibition in his whole life, of that proud, unyielding spirit which sustained him through so many years of trial, and enabled him at length to achieve his great enterprise, in the face of every obstacle which man and nature had opposed to it.[22]

The misunderstanding was not suffered to be of long duration. Columbus's friends, and especially Louis de St. Angel, remonstrated with the queen on these proceedings in the most earnest manner. He frankly told her that Columbus's demands, if high, were at least contingent on suc-

[22] Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 28, 29.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, ubi supra.

cess, when they would be well deserved, while, if he failed, he required nothing. St. Angel expatiated on his qualifications for the undertaking, so signal as to insure in all probability the patronage of some other monarch, who would reap the fruits of his discoveries; and he ventured to remind the queen that her present policy was not in accordance with the magnanimous spirit which had hitherto made her the ready patron of great and heroic enterprise. Far from being displeased, Isabella was moved by his honest eloquence. She contemplated the proposals of Columbus in their true light; and, refusing to hearken any longer to the suggestions of cold and timid counsellors, she gave way to the natural impulses of her own noble and generous heart. "I will assume the undertaking," said she, "for my own crown of Castile, and am ready to pawn my jewels to defray the expenses of it, if the funds in the treasury shall be found inadequate." * The treasury had been reduced to the lowest ebb by the late war; but the receiver, St. Angel, advanced the sums required, from the Aragonese revenues deposited in his hands. Aragon, however, was not considered as adventuring in the expedition, the charges and

* [The obstinacy and arrogance of Columbus in demanding his reward before he had proved anything almost lost him everything. The powers demanded were finally granted because the sovereigns had not much faith in the successful issue of the project. Isabella, it should be noted, had no crown-jewels to pawn. They were already pledged as security for the loans required for carrying on the Moorish wars. "Jews, not jewels," furnished the funds for the voyage from Palos, though Harrisse thinks that St. Angel, the treasurer, advanced money from his own funds for the benefit of Castile.—M.]

emoluments of which were reserved exclusively for Castile.[23]

Columbus, who was overtaken by the royal messenger at a few leagues' distance only from Granada, experienced the most courteous reception on his return to Santa Fe, where a definitive arrangement was concluded with the Spanish sovereigns, April 17th, 1492. By the terms of the capitulation, Ferdinand and Isabella, as lords of the ocean-seas, constituted Christopher Columbus their admiral, viceroy, and governor-general of all such islands and continents as he should discover in the western ocean, with the privilege of nominating three candidates, for the selection of one by the crown, for the government of each of these territories. He was to be vested with exclusive right of jurisdiction over all commercial transactions within his admiralty. He was to be entitled to one-tenth of all the products and profits within the limits of his discoveries, and an additional eighth, provided he should contribute one-eighth part of the expense. By a subsequent ordinance, the official dignities above enumerated were settled on him and his heirs forever, with the privilege of prefixing to their names the title of Don, which had not then degenerated into an appellation of mere courtesy.[24]

No sooner were the arrangements completed,

[23] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 32, 33.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 14.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 15.

[24] Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Col. diplomat., nos. 5, 6.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 412.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 605.

than Isabella prepared, with her characteristic promptness, to forward the expedition by the most efficient measures. Orders were sent to Seville and other ports of Andalusia, to furnish stores and other articles requisite for the voyage, free of duty, and at as low rates as possible. The fleet, consisting of three vessels, was to sail from the little port of Palos in Andalusia, which had been condemned for some delinquency to maintain two caravels for a twelvemonth for the public service. The third vessel was furnished by the admiral, aided, as it would seem, in defraying the charges by his friend the guardian of La Rabida, and the Pinzons, a family in Palos long distinguished for its enterprise among the mariners of that active community. With their assistance, Columbus was enabled to surmount the disinclination, and indeed open opposition, manifested by the Andalusian mariners to his perilous voyage; so that in less than three months his little squadron was equipped for sea. A sufficient evidence of the extreme unpopularity of the expedition is afforded by a royal ordinance of the 30th of April, promising protection to all persons who should embark in it from criminal prosecution of whatever kind, until two months after their return.* The armament consisted of two caravels, or light vessels without decks, and a third of larger burden. The total number of persons who embarked amounted to one hundred and twenty; and the whole charges

* [A precedent for this was found in the indulgences which had been granted to those who had taken part in the Eastern crusades.—M.]

of the crown for the expedition did not exceed seventeen thousand florins. The fleet was instructed to keep clear of the African coast, and other maritime possessions of Portugal. At length, all things being in readiness, Columbus and his whole crew partook of the sacrament, and confessed themselves, after the devout manner of the ancient Spanish voyagers when engaged in any important enterprise; and on the morning of the 3d of August, 1492, the intrepid navigator, bidding adieu to the old world, launched forth on that unfathomed waste of waters where no sail had been ever spread before.[25]

It is impossible to peruse the story of Columbus without assigning to him almost exclusively the

[25] Peter Martyr, De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe (Colonïæ, 1574), dec. 1, lib. 1.—Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Col. diplomat., nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12.—Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 14.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 2, sec. 33.—Benzoni, Novi Orbis Hist., lib. 1, cap. 6.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 15.

The expression in the text will not seem too strong, even admitting the previous discoveries of the Northmen, which were made in so much higher latitudes. Humboldt has well shown the probabilities, *à priori*, of such discoveries, made in a narrow part of the Atlantic, where the Orcades, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland afforded the voyager so many intermediate stations, at moderate distances from each other. (Géographie du nouveau Continent, tom. ii. p. 183 et seq.) The publication of the original Scandinavian MSS.* (of which imperfect notices and selections only have hitherto found their way into the world) by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, is a matter of the deepest interest; and it is fortunate that it is to be conducted under the auspices which must insure its execution in the most faithful and able manner. It may be doubted, however, whether the declaration of the Prospectus, that "it was the knowledge of the Scandinavian voyages, in all probability, which prompted the expedition of Columbus," can ever be established. His personal history furnishes strong internal evidence to the contrary.

* [C. C. Rafn—Antiquitates Americanæ.—M.]

glory of his great discovery; for from the first moment of its conception to that of its final execution he was encountered by every species of mortification and embarrassment, with scarcely a heart to cheer or a hand to help him.[26] Those more enlightened persons whom, during his long residence in Spain, he succeeded in interesting in his expedition, looked to it probably as the means of solving a dubious problem, with the same sort of vague and skeptical curiosity as to its successful result with which we contemplate, in our day, an attempt to arrive at the Northwest passage. How feeble was the interest excited, even among those who from their science and situation would seem to have their attention most naturally drawn towards it, may be inferred from the infrequency of allusion to it in the correspondence and other writings of that time, previous to the actual discovery. Peter Martyr, one of the most accomplished scholars of the period, whose residence at the Castilian court must have fully instructed him in the designs of Columbus, and whose inquisitive mind led him subsequently to take the deepest interest in the results of his discoveries, does not,

[26] How strikingly are the forlorn condition and indomitable energy of Columbus depicted in the following noble verses of Chiabrera!—

"Certo da cor, ch' alto destin non scelse,
Son l' imprese magnanime neglette;
Ma le bell' alme alle bell' opre elette
Sanno gioir nelle fatiche eccelse;
Nè biasmo popolar, frale catena,
Spirto d' onore, il suo cammin reffrena
Così lunga stagion per modi indegni
Europa disprezzò l' inclita speme,
Schernendo il vulgo, e seco i Regi insieme
Nudo nocchier, promettitor di Regni."

Rime, parte 1, canzone 12.

so far as I am aware, allude to him in any part of his voluminous correspondence with the learned men of his time, previous to the first expedition. The common people regarded, not merely with apathy, but with terror, the prospect of a voyage that was to take the mariner from the safe and pleasant seas which he was accustomed to navigate, and send him roving on the boundless wilderness of waters, which tradition and superstitious fancy had peopled with innumerable forms of horror.

It is true that Columbus experienced a most honorable reception at the Castilian court; such as naturally flowed from the benevolent spirit of Isabella and her just appreciation of his pure and elevated character. But the queen was too little of a proficient in science to be able to estimate the merits of his hypothesis; and, as many of those on whose judgment she leaned deemed it chimerical, it is probable that she never entertained a deep conviction of its truth; at least not enough to warrant the liberal expenditure which she never refused to schemes of real importance. This is certainly inferred by the paltry amount actually expended on the armament, far inferior to that appropriated to the equipment of two several fleets in the course of the late war for a foreign expedition, as well as to that with which in the ensuing year she followed up Columbus's discoveries.

But while, on a review of the circumstances, we are led more and more to admire the constancy and unconquerable spirit which carried Columbus

victorious through all the difficulties of his undertaking, we must remember, in justice to Isabella, that, although tardily, she did in fact furnish the resources essential to its execution; that she undertook the enterprise when it had been explicitly declined by other powers, and when probably none other of that age would have been found to countenance it; and that, after once plighting her faith to Columbus, she became his steady friend, shielding him against the calumnies of his enemies, reposing in him the most generous confidence, and serving him in the most acceptable manner, by supplying ample resources for the prosecution of his glorious discoveries.[27]

It is now more than thirty years since the Spanish government intrusted Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, one of the most eminent scholars of the country, with the care of exploring the public archives, for the purpose of collecting information relative to the voyages and discoveries of the early Spanish navigators. In 1825, Señor Navarrete gave to the world the first-fruits of his indefatigable researches, in two volumes, the commencement of a series, comprehending letters, private journals, royal ordinances, and other original documents, illustrative of the discovery of America. These two volumes are devoted exclusively to the adventures and personal history of Columbus, and must be regarded as the only authentic basis on which any notice of the great navigator can hereafter rest. Fortunately, Mr. Irving's visit to Spain, at this period, enabled the world to derive the full benefit of Señor Navarrete's researches, by presenting their results in connection with whatever had been before known of Columbus, in the lucid and

[27] Columbus, in a letter written on his third voyage, pays an honest, heartfelt tribute to the effectual patronage which he experienced from the queen. "In the midst of the general incredulity," says he, "the Almighty infused into the queen, my lady, the spirit of intelligence and energy; and, whilst every one else, in his ignorance, was expatiating only on the inconvenience and cost, her Highness approved it, on the contrary, and gave it all the support in her power." See Carta al Ama del Principe D. Juan, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i. p. 266.

attractive form which engages the interest of every reader. It would seem highly proper that the fortunes of the discoverer of America should engage the pen of an inhabitant of her most favored and enlightened region; and it is unnecessary to add that the task has been executed in a manner which must secure to the historian a share in the imperishable renown of his subject. The adventures of Columbus, which form so splendid an episode to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, cannot properly come within the scope of its historian, except so far as relates to his personal intercourse with the government, or to their results on the fortunes of the Spanish monarchy.

CHAPTER XVII

EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN

1492

Excitement against the Jews—Edict of Expulsion—Dreadful Sufferings of the Emigrants—Whole Number of Exiles—Disastrous Results—True Motives of the Edict—Contemporary Judgments

WHILE the Spanish sovereigns were detained before Granada, they published their memorable and most disastrous edict against the Jews; inscribing it, as it were, with the same pen which drew up the glorious capitulation of Granada and the treaty with Columbus. The reader has been made acquainted in a preceding chapter with the prosperous condition of the Jews in the Peninsula, and the pre-eminent consideration which they attained there beyond any other part of Christendom. The envy raised by their prosperity, combined with the high religious excitement kindled in the long war with the infidel, directed the terrible arm of the Inquisition, as has been already stated, against this unfortunate people; but the result showed the failure of the experiment, since comparatively few conversions, and those frequently of a suspicious character, were effected, while the great mass still maintained a pertinacious attachment to ancient errors.[1]

[1] It is a proof of the high consideration in which such Israelites as were willing to embrace Christianity were held, that three of

Under these circumstances, the popular odium, inflamed by the discontent of the clergy at the resistance which they encountered in the work of proselytism, gradually grew stronger and stronger against the unhappy Israelites. Old traditions, as old indeed as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were revived, and charged on the present generation, with all the details of place and action. Christian children were said to be kidnapped in order to be crucified in derision of the Saviour; the host, it was rumored, was exposed to the grossest indignities; and physicians and apothecaries, whose science was particularly cultivated by the Jews in the Middle Ages, were accused of poisoning their Christian patients. No rumor was too absurd for the easy credulity of the people. The Israelites were charged with the more probable offence of attempting to convert to their own faith the *ancient Christians,* as well as to reclaim such of their own race as had recently embraced Christianity.* A great scandal was

that number, Alvarez, Avila, and Pulgar, were private secretaries of the queen. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 18.) An incidental expression of Martyr's, among many similar ones by contemporaries, affords the true key to the popular odium against the Jews: "Cum namque viderent, Judæorum tabido commercio, qui hac horâ sunt in Hispaniâ *innumeri Christianis ditiores,* plurimorum animos corrumpi ac seduci," etc. Opus Epist., epist. 92.

* [The rules set forth by the Inquisition against the "New Christians," who were suspected of having lapsed back to the faith of their fathers, were of the most stringent nature. If the "New Christian" (*a*) wore a clean shirt or used clean linen on Saturday; (*b*) ate meat in Lent; (*c*) observed any of the Jewish fasts; (*d*) sat at meat with a Jew; (*e*) gave a Hebrew name to his child (by a law of Henry II. he was forbidden to give his child a Christian name), he was judged to be an heretic and was con-

occasioned also by the intermarriages which still occasionally took place between Jews and Christians; the latter condescending to repair their dilapidated fortunes by these wealthy alliances, though at the expense of their vaunted purity of blood.[2]

These various offences were urged against the Jews with great pertinacity by their enemies, and the sovereigns were importuned to adopt a more rigorous policy. The inquisitors, in particular, to whom the work of conversion had been specially intrusted, represented the incompetence of all lenient measures to the end proposed. They asserted that the only mode left for the extirpation of the Jewish heresy was to eradicate the seed; and they boldly demanded the immediate and total banishment of every unbaptized Israelite from the land.[3]

The Jews, who had obtained an intimation of these proceedings, resorted to their usual crafty policy for propitiating the sovereigns. They commissioned one of their body to tender a donative of

[2] Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, p. 164.—Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. cap. 7, sec. 3.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 94.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 128.

[3] Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, p. 163.—Salazar de Mendoza refers the sovereigns' consent to the banishment of the Jews, in a great measure, to the urgent remonstrances of the cardinal of Spain. The bigotry of the biographer makes him claim the credit of every fanatical act for his illustrious hero. See Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 250.

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demned to death. If when dying he turned his face to the wall he was deemed to have died an heretic, and his goods were therefore forfeited. If his children washed his dead body in preparing it for burial the doom of heresy was pronounced against them.—M.]

thirty thousand ducats towards defraying the expenses of the Moorish war. The negotiation, however, was suddenly interrupted by the inquisitor-general, Torquemada, who burst into the apartment of the palace where the sovereigns were giving audience to the Jewish deputy, and, drawing forth a crucifix from beneath his mantle, held it up, exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his master for thirty pieces of silver. Your Highnesses would sell him anew for thirty thousand; here he is, take him, and barter him away." So saying, the frantic priest threw the crucifix on the table, and left the apartment. The sovereigns, instead of chastising this presumption, or despising it as a mere freak of insanity, were overawed by it. Neither Ferdinand nor Isabella, had they been left to the unbiassed dictates of their own reason, could have sanctioned for a moment so impolitic a measure, which involved the loss of the most industrious and skilful portion of their subjects. Its extreme injustice and cruelty rendered it especially repugnant to the naturally humane disposition of the queen.[4] But she had been early schooled to distrust her own reason, and indeed the natural suggestions of humanity, in cases of conscience. Among the reverend counsellors on whom she most relied in these matters was the Dominican Torquemada. The situation which this man en-

[4] Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 7, sect. 5.—Pulgar, in a letter to the cardinal of Spain, animadverting with much severity on the tenor of certain municipal ordinances against the Jews in Guipuscoa and Toledo, in 1482, plainly intimates that they were not at all to the taste of the queen. See Letras (Amstelodami, 1670), let. 31.

THE GRAND INQUISITOR BEFORE FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

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Goupil & Cie, Paris.

joyed as the queen's confessor, during the tender years of her youth, gave him an ascendency over her mind which must have been denied to a person of his savage, fanatical temper, even with the advantages of this spiritual connection, had it been formed at a riper period of her life. Without opposing further resistance to the representations, so emphatically expressed, of the holy persons in whom she most confided, Isabella, at length, silenced her own scruples, and consented to the fatal measure of proscription.

The edict for the expulsion of the Jews was signed by the Spanish sovereigns at Granada, March 30th, 1492. The preamble alleges, in vindication of the measure, the danger of allowing further intercourse between the Jews and their Christian subjects, in consequence of the incorrigible obstinacy with which the former persisted in their attempts to make converts of the latter to their own faith, and to instruct them in their heretical rites, in open defiance of every legal prohibition and penalty. When a college or corporation of any kind—the instrument goes on to state —is convicted of any great or detestable crime, it is right that it should be disfranchised, the less suffering with the greater, the innocent with the guilty. If this be the case in temporal concerns, it is much more so in those which affect the eternal welfare of the soul. It finally decrees that all unbaptized Jews, of whatever age, sex, or condition, should depart from the realm by the end of July next ensuing; prohibiting them from revisiting it, on any pretext whatever, under penalty of

death and confiscation of property. It was, moreover, interdicted to every subject to harbor, succor, or minister to the necessities of any Jew, after the expiration of the term limited for his departure. The persons and property of the Jews, in the mean time, were taken under the royal protection. They were allowed to dispose of their effects of every kind on their own account, and to carry the proceeds along with them, in bills of exchange, or merchandise not prohibited, but neither in gold nor silver.[5]

The doom of exile fell like a thunderbolt on the heads of the Israelites. A large proportion of them had hitherto succeeded in shielding themselves from the searching eye of the Inquisition, by an affectation of reverence for the forms of Catholic worship, and a discreet forbearance of whatever might offend the prejudices of their Christian brethren. They had even hoped that their steady loyalty and a quiet and orderly discharge of their social duties would in time secure them higher immunities. Many had risen to a degree of opulence, by means of the thrift and dexterity peculiar to the race, which gave them a still deeper interest in the land of their residence.[6] Their families were reared in all the elegant refinements of life; and their wealth and education

[5] Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1492.—Recop. de las Leyres, lib. 8, tit. 2, ley 2.—Pragmáticas del Reyno, ed. 1520, fol. 3.

[6] The Curate of Los Palacios speaks of several Israelites worth one or two millions of maravedis, and of another as having even amassed ten. He mentions one, in particular, by the name of Abraham, as renting the *greater part of Castile!* It will hardly do to take the good Curate's statement *à la lettre*. See Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 112.

often disposed them to turn their attention to liberal pursuits, which ennobled the character, indeed, but rendered them personally more sensible to physical annoyance and less fitted to encounter the perils and privations of their dreary pilgrimage. Even the mass of the common people possessed a dexterity in various handicrafts which afforded a comfortable livelihood, raising them far above similar classes in most other nations, who might readily be detached from the soil on which they happened to be cast, with comparatively little sacrifice of local interests.[7] These ties were now severed at a blow. They were to go forth as exiles from the land of their birth; the land where all whom they ever loved had lived or died; the land not so much of their adoption as of their inheritance; which had been the home of their ancestors for centuries, and with whose prosperity and glory they were of course as intimately associated as was any ancient Spaniard. They were to be cast out helpless and defenceless, with a brand of infamy set on them, among nations who had always held them in derision and hatred.

Those provisions of the edict which affected a show of kindness to the Jews were contrived so artfully as to be nearly nugatory. As they were excluded from the use of gold and silver, the only medium for representing their property was bills of exchange. But commerce was too limited and imperfect to allow of these being promptly obtained to any very considerable, much less to the enormous amount required in the present instance.

[7] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.

It was impossible, moreover, to negotiate a sale of their effects under existing circumstances, since the market was soon glutted with commodities; and few would be found willing to give any thing like an equivalent for what, if not disposed of within the prescribed term, the proprietors must relinquish at any rate. So deplorable, indeed, was the sacrifice of property that a chronicler of the day mentions that he had seen a house exchanged for an ass, and a vineyard for a suit of clothes! In Aragon, matters were still worse. The government there discovered that the Jews were largely indebted to individuals and to certain corporations. It accordingly caused their property to be sequestrated for the benefit of their creditors, until their debts should be liquidated. Strange, indeed, that the balance should be found against a people who have been everywhere conspicuous for their commercial sagacity and resources, and who, as factors of the great nobility and farmers of the revenue, enjoyed at least equal advantages in Spain with those possessed in other countries for the accumulation of wealth.[8]

While the gloomy aspect of their fortunes pressed heavily on the hearts of the Israelites, the Spanish clergy were indefatigable in the work of conversion. They lectured in the synagogues and public squares, expounding the doctrines of Christianity, and thundering forth both argu-

[8] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 10.—Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 9.—Capmany notices the number of synagogues existing in Aragon in 1428 as amounting to nineteen. In Galicia at the same time there were but three, and in Catalonia but one. See Mem. de Barcelona, tom. iv. Apend. num. 11.

ment and invective against the Hebrew heresy. But their laudable endeavors were in a great measure counteracted by the more authoritative rhetoric of the Jewish Rabbins, who compared the persecutions of their brethren to those which their ancestors had suffered under Pharaoh. They encouraged them to persevere, representing that the present afflictions were intended as a trial of their faith by the Almighty, who designed in this way to guide them to the promised land, by opening a path through the waters, as he had done to their fathers of old. The more wealthy Israelites enforced their exhortations by liberal contributions for the relief of their indigent brethren. Thus strengthened, there were found but very few, when the day of departure arrived, who were not prepared to abandon their country rather than their religion. This extraordinary act of self-devotion by a whole people for conscience' sake may be thought, in the nineteenth century, to merit other epithets than those of "perfidy, incredulity, and stiff-necked obstinacy," with which the worthy Curate of Los Palacios, in the charitable feeling of that day, has seen fit to stigmatize it.[9]

When the period of departure arrived, all the principal routes through the country might be seen swarming with emigrants, old and young, the sick and the helpless, men, women, and children, mingled promiscuously together, some mounted on horses or mules, but far the greater part under-

[9] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 10, 113.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 131.

taking their painful pilgrimage on foot. The sight of so much misery touched even the Spaniards with pity, though none might succor them; for the grand inquisitor, Torquemada, enforced the ordinance to that effect by denouncing heavy ecclesiastical censures on all who should presume to violate it. The fugitives were distributed along various routes, being determined in their destination by accidental circumstances much more than by any knowledge of the respective countries to which they were bound. Much the largest division, amounting according to some estimates to eighty thousand souls, passed into Portugal; whose monarch, John the Second, dispensed with his scruples of conscience so far as to give them a free passage through his dominions on their way to Africa, in consideration of a tax of a *cruzado* a head. He is even said to have silenced his scruples so far as to allow certain ingenious artisans to establish themselves permanently in the kingdom.[10]

A considerable number found their way to the ports of Santa Maria and Cadiz, where, after lingering some time in the vain hope of seeing the waters open for their egress, according to the promises of the Rabbins, they embarked on board a Spanish fleet for the Barbary coast. Having crossed over to Ercilla, a Christian settlement in Africa, whence they proceeded by land towards Fez, where a considerable body of their country-

[10] Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 9.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 133.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.—La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. p. 95.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 602.

men resided, they were assaulted on their route by the roving tribes of the desert, in quest of plunder. Notwithstanding the interdict, the Jews had contrived to secrete small sums of money, sewed up in their garments or the linings of their saddles. These did not escape the avaricious eyes of their spoilers, who are even said to have ripped open the bodies of their victims in search of gold which they were supposed to have swallowed. The lawless barbarians, mingling lust with avarice, abandoned themselves to still more frightful excesses, violating the wives and daughters of the unresisting Jews, or massacring in cold blood such as offered resistance. But, without pursuing these loathsome details further, it need only be added that the miserable exiles endured such extremity of famine that they were glad to force a nourishment from the grass which grew scantily among the sands of the desert; until at length great numbers of them, wasted by disease, and broken in spirit, retraced their steps to Ercilla, and consented to be baptized, in the hope of being permitted to revisit their native land. The number, indeed, was so considerable that the priest who officiated was obliged to make use of the mop, or hyssop, with which the Roman Catholic missionaries were wont to scatter the holy drops whose mystic virtue could cleanse the soul in a moment from the foulest stains of infidelity. "Thus," says a Castilian historian, "the calamities of these poor blind creatures proved in the end an excellent remedy, that God made use of to unseal their eyes, which they now opened to the vain promises of the

Rabbins; so that, renouncing their ancient heresies, they became faithful followers of the Cross!" [11]

Many of the emigrants took the direction of Italy. Those who landed at Naples brought with them an infectious disorder, contracted by long confinement in small, crowded, and ill-provided vessels. The disorder was so malignant, and spread with such frightful celerity, as to sweep off more than twenty thousand inhabitants of the city in the course of the year, whence it extended its devastation over the whole Italian peninsula.

A graphic picture of these horrors is thus given by a Genoese historian, an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. "No one," he says, "could behold the sufferings of the Jewish exiles unmoved. A great many perished of hunger, especially those of tender years. Mothers, with scarcely strength to support themselves, carried their famished infants in their arms, and died with them. Many fell victims to the cold, others to intense thirst, while the unaccustomed distresses incident to a sea-voyage aggravated their maladies. I will not enlarge on the cruelty and the avarice which they frequently experienced from the masters of the ships which transported them from Spain. Some were murdered to gratify their cupidity, others forced to sell their children for the expenses of the passage. They arrived in Genoa in crowds, but were not suffered to tarry there long, by reason of the ancient law which interdicted the Jewish traveller from a longer resi-

[11] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 133.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 113.

dence than three days. They were allowed, however, to refit their vessels, and to recruit themselves for some days from the fatigues of their voyage. One might have taken them for spectres, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous in their aspect, and with eyes so sunken; they differed in nothing from the dead, except in the power of motion, which indeed they scarcely retained. Many fainted and expired on the mole, which, being completely surrounded by the sea, was the only quarter vouchsafed to the wretched emigrants. The infection bred by such a swarm of dead and dying persons was not at once perceived; but, when the winter broke up, ulcers began to make their appearance, and the malady, which lurked for a long time in the city, broke out into the plague in the following year." [12]

Many of the exiles passed into Turkey,* and to different parts of the Levant, where their descendants continued to speak the Castilian language far into the following century. Others found their way to France, and even England. Part of

[12] Senarega, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiv. pp. 531, 532.

* ["It is not generally known that the 80,000 Jews, who now form the majority and practically control the affairs of the great Turkish city of Salonica, claim to be descended from the Spanish Jews driven out by Ferdinand, and permitted to settle here, with reasonable privileges, by the more liberal-minded sultan. They remain a singular population, of a type not to be found elsewhere among Jews. The men, especially, are very tall and handsome, and dress in a fine costume, of which a long cloak, worn open, and lined with fur, is a striking feature. They still use Spanish as their every-day language, and print two or more papers in Hebrew letters, but in the language they carried with them from the West."—Burke, History of Spain, vol. ii. p. 128.—M.]

their religious services is recited to this day in Spanish, in one or more of the London synagogues; and the modern Jew still reverts with fond partiality to Spain, as the cherished land of his fathers, illustrated by the most glorious recollections in their eventful history.[13]

The whole number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella is variously computed at from one hundred and sixty thousand to eight hundred thousand souls; a discrepancy sufficiently indicating the paucity of authentic data. Most modern writers, with the usual predilection for startling results, have assumed the latter estimate; and Llorente has made it the basis of some important calculations, in his History of the Inquisition. A view of all the circumstances will lead us without much hesitation to adopt the most moderate computation.[14] This, moreover, is placed

[13] See a sensible notice of Hebrew literature in Spain, in the Retrospective Review, vol. iii. p. 209.—Mariana, Hist de España, tom. ii. lib. 26, cap. 1.—Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 9.—Not a few of the learned exiles attained to eminence in those countries of Europe where they transferred their residence. One is mentioned by Castro as a leading practitioner of medicine in Genoa; another, as filling the posts of astronomer and chronicler under King Emanuel of Portugal. Many of them published works in various departments of science, which were translated into the Spanish and other European languages. Biblioteca Española, tom. i. pp. 359–372.

[14] From a curious document in the Archives of Simancas, consisting of a report made to the Spanish sovereigns by their accountant-general, Quintanilla, in 1492, it would appear that the population of the kingdom of Castile, exclusive of Granada, was then estimated at 1,500,000 *vecinos*, or householders. (See Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Apend. no. 12.) This, allowing four and a half to a family, would make the whole population 6,750,000. It appears from the statement of Bernaldez that the kingdom of Castile contained five-sixths of the whole number of Jews in the Spanish monarchy. This proportion, if 800,000 be received as the

beyond reasonable doubt by the direct testimony of the Curate of Los Palacios. He reports that a Jewish Rabbin, one of the exiles, subsequently returned to Spain, where he was baptized by him. This person, whom Bernaldez commends for his intelligence, estimated the whole number of his unbaptized countrymen in the dominions of Ferdinand and Isabella, at the publication of the edict, at thirty-six thousand families. Another Jewish authority, quoted by the Curate, reckoned them at thirty-five thousand. This, assuming an average of four and a half to a family, gives the sum total of about one hundred and sixty thousand individuals, agreeably to the computation of Bernaldez. There is little reason for supposing that the actual amount would suffer diminution in the hands of either the Jewish or Castilian authority; since the one might naturally be led to exaggerate in order to heighten sympathy with the calamities of his nation, and the other to magnify as far as possible the glorious triumphs of the Cross.[15] *

total, would amount in round numbers to 670,000, or ten per cent. of the whole population of the kingdom. Now, it is manifestly improbable that so large a portion of the whole nation, conspicuous moreover for wealth and intelligence, could have been held so light in a political aspect as the Jews certainly were, or have tamely submitted for so many years to the most wanton indignities without resistance, or, finally, that the Spanish government would have ventured on so bold a measure as the banishment of so numerous and powerful a class, and that too with as few precautions, apparently, as would be required for driving out of the country a roving gang of gipsies.

[15] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 110.—Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 7, sect. 7.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 26.—Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 9.

* [Graetz, History of the Jews, vol. iv. chap. xl., places the number of the exiles at 300,000.—M.]

The detriment incurred by the state, however, is not founded so much on any numerical estimate as on the subtraction of the mechanical skill, intelligence, and general resources of an orderly, industrious population. In this view, the mischief was incalculably greater than that inferred by the mere number of the exiled; and, although even this might have been gradually repaired in a country allowed the free and healthful development of its energies, yet in Spain this was so effectually counteracted by the Inquisition, and other causes in the following century, that the loss may be deemed irretrievable.

The expulsion of so numerous a class of subjects by an independent act of the sovereign might well be regarded as an enormous stretch of prerogative, altogether incompatible with any thing like a free government. But, to judge the matter rightly, we must take into view the actual position of the Jews at that time. Far from forming an integral part of the commonwealth, they were regarded as alien to it, as a mere excrescence, which, so far from contributing to the healthful action of the body politic, was nourished by its vicious humors, and might be lopped off at any time when the health of the system demanded it. Far from being protected by the laws, the only aim of the laws in reference to them was to define more precisely their civil incapacities, and to draw the line of division more broadly between them and the Christians. Even this humiliation by no means satisfied the national prejudices, as is evinced by the great number of tumults and massacres of

which they were the victims. In these circumstances, it seemed to be no great assumption of authority to pronounce sentence of exile against those whom public opinion had so long proscribed as enemies to the state. It was only carrying into effect that opinion, expressed as it had been in a great variety of ways; and, so far as the rights of the nation were concerned, the banishment of a single Spaniard would have been held a grosser violation of them than that of the whole race of Israelites.

It has been common with modern historians to detect a principal motive for the expulsion of the Jews in the avarice of the government. It is only necessary, however, to transport ourselves back to those times to find it in perfect accordance with their spirit, at least in Spain. It is indeed incredible that persons possessing the political sagacity of Ferdinand and Isabella could indulge a temporary cupidity at the sacrifice of the most important and permanent interests, converting their wealthiest districts into a wilderness and dispeopling them of a class of citizens who contributed beyond all others not only to the general resources but to the direct revenues of the crown; a measure so manifestly unsound as to lead even a barbarian monarch of that day to exclaim, "Do they call this Ferdinand a politic prince, who can thus impoverish his own kingdom and enrich ours?" [16] It would seem, indeed, when the measure had been determined on, that the Aragonese monarch was

[16] Bajazet. See Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. p. 310.—Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, p. 168.

willing, by his expedient of sequestration, to control its operation in such a manner as to secure to his own subjects the full pecuniary benefit of it.[17] No imputation of this kind attaches to Castile. The clause of the ordinance which might imply such a design, by interdicting the exportation of gold and silver, was only enforcing a law which had been already twice enacted by cortes in the present reign, and which was deemed of such moment that the offence was made capital.[18]

We need look no further for the principle of action, in this case, than the spirit of religious bigotry, which led to a similar expulsion of the Jews from England, France, and other parts of Europe, as well as from Portugal, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, a few years later.[19] *

[17] "In truth," father Abarca somewhat innocently remarks, "King Ferdinand was a politic Christian, making the interests of church and state mutually subservient to each other"! Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 310.

[18] Once at Toledo, 1480, and at Murcia, 1488. See Recop. de las Leyes, lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 1.

[19] The Portuguese government caused all children of fourteen years of age, or under, to be taken from their parents and retained in the country, as fit subjects for a Christian education. The distress occasioned by this cruel provision may be well imagined. Many of the unhappy parents murdered their children to defeat the ordinance; and many laid violent hands on themselves. Faria y Sousa coolly remarks that "it was a great mistake in King Emanuel to think of converting to Christianity any Jew old enough to pronounce the name of Moses." He fixes three years of age as the utmost limit. (Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 496.) Mr. Turner has condensed, with his usual industry, the most essential chronological facts relative to modern Jewish history, in a note contained in the second volume of his History of England, pp. 114–120.

* [The hatred that has been manifested towards the Jews in all countries throughout all the Christian centuries is indicated by the tales of Jewish sacrilege and of Jewish cruelty towards Chris-

Indeed, the spirit of persecution did not expire with the fifteenth century, but extended far into

tian children that have come down to us from all parts of the world. The stories have a family resemblance. The Jews crucify a Christian child on Good Friday with insults similar to those inflicted on Christ Himself. Some of the stories have a basis of fact. In 415, in Immestar, between Antioch and Chalcis, some drunken Jews tied a Christian boy to a cross and afterwards killed him. Almost instantly the vengeance of Thedosius II. was visited upon them. This was apparently a sporadic case. No others come to light that are worth noticing until the eleventh century. With the intense feeling against the Jews which the Crusades excited, the anti-Semitic mania broke out with great violence. In the twelfth century many instances of alleged crucifixions are in every case followed by terrible punishments. In 1192, at Bray-sur-Seine, in France, the Jews obtained from the authorities a condemned murderer. They scourged him, crowned him with thorns, and then hanged him. Philip Augustus burned more than eighty Jews to revenge the sacrilege.

In 1250 the first crucifixion took place in Spain, at Saragossa. The famous case of St. Hugh of Lincoln (England) occurred August 27, 1255. During the next two centuries instances of sacrilege were noted in Munich, Thuringia, Prague, Bavaria, Misnia, and Majorca. In most of these places a racial hatred is still occasionally manifested. In almost every instance the Passion was parodied. In 1454 Jews of Valladolid robbed a child and then killed him. The murderers were then said to have burned the heart of their victim to ashes, and to have mingled the ashes with wine to parody the Sacrament. This story was frequently duplicated, and was in many cases corroborated by the testimony of converted Jews. Stranger things still were believed. Dr. John Eck (Luther's antagonist) wrote that a woman in labor could not bring forth a child unless she had first been anointed with Christian blood. Even now absurd ideas still prevail in Eastern lands. In 1881 Jews of Alexandria were accused of killing a Greek boy as a Passover sacrifice. The fact that his body was found floating in the harbor later made no difference in the popular belief. In the next year a Christian girl was said to have been murdered for a similar reason in Hungary. Strangest of all, in 1890 two Greeks offered the grand rabbi of Smyrna to procure a young girl for the Passover sacrifice! The rabbi wisely entertained the proposal and put the authorities upon the track of the ruffians, thus securing their capture and punishment.

El Santo Niño de la Guardia, the most famous case in Spain, had thus abundant reason for its existence. In 1490 the Holy Child was first heard of. In July, 1491, the fact was brought

the more luminous periods of the seventeenth and eighteenth; and that, too, under a ruler of the enlarged capacity of Frederick the Great, whose intolerance could not plead in excuse the blindness of fanaticism.[20] How far the banishment of the Jews was conformable to the opinions of the most enlightened contemporaries, may be gathered from the encomiums lavished on its authors from more than one quarter. Spanish writers, without exception, celebrate it as a sublime sacrifice of all

[20] They were also ejected from Vienna in 1669. The illiberal and indeed most cruel legislation of Frederick II. in reference to his Jewish subjects transports us back to the darkest periods of the Visigothic monarchy. The reader will find a summary of these enactments in the third volume of Milman's agreeable History of the Jews.

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out through confession that a child had been carried to a cave, crucified, tortured, and killed. Its heart had then been taken out, its blood collected, its body buried. Unfortunately, no body could be found in the grave pointed out, no one had lost a child. Repeated tortures failed to elicit anything definite. The stories secured through torture did not agree. At first no name was heard of; the Inquisition simply spoke of a Niño Christiano. At last a name was affixed to the infant, a father and mother given it. To use the thought of Mr. Henry C. Lea, it was begotten in torture, its gestation required sixteen months. On the 16th of November, 1491, sentence against the persons who had been tortured was read at an auto, and the victims were relaxed to the secular arm. Their flesh having first been torn with red-hot pincers, they were burned at the Quemadero. The "conversos" were treated with special leniency, in that they were strangled before they were burned. Torquemada made as much of the story as was possible. The legend naturally grew, and all kinds of miracles were ascribed to the Niño. But no relics of the child were ever found,—no cross, no crown, no nails,—and Rome never canonized him. The story was used constantly in Spain to intensify the feeling against the Jews.

All the facts that we know concerning it are brought out with scrupulous care in Lea's Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition.—M.]

temporal interests to religious principle. The best-instructed foreigners, in like manner, however they may condemn the details of its execution or commiserate the sufferings of the Jews, commend the act, as evincing the most lively and laudable zeal for the true faith.[21]

It cannot be denied that Spain at this period surpassed most of the nations of Christendom in religious enthusiasm, or, to speak more correctly, in bigotry. This is doubtless imputable to the long war with the Moslems, and its recent glorious issue, which swelled every heart with exultation, disposing it to consummate the triumphs of the Cross by purging the land from a heresy which, strange as it may seem, was scarcely less detested than that of Mahomet. Both the sovereigns partook largely of these feelings. With regard to Isabella, moreover, it must be borne constantly in mind, as has been repeatedly remarked in the course of this history, that she had been used to surrender her own judgment in matters of conscience to those spiritual guardians who were supposed in that age to be its rightful depositaries, and the only casuists who could safely determine

[21] The accomplished and amiable Florentine, Pico di Mirandola, in his treatise on Judicial Astrology, remarks that "the sufferings of the Jews, *in which the glory of divine justice delighted,* were so extreme as to fill us Christians with commiseration." The Genoese historian Senarega, indeed, admits that the measure savored *of some slight degree of cruelty:* "Res hæc primo conspectu laudabilis visa est, quia decus nostræ Religionis respiceret, sed aliquantulum in se crudelitatis continere, si eos non belluas, sed homines a Deo creatos, consideravimus." De Rebus Genuensibus, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiv.—Illescas, Hist. Pontif., apud Paramo, De Origine Inquisitionis, p. 167.

the doubtful line of duty. Isabella's pious disposition, and her trembling solicitude to discharge her duty at whatever cost of personal inclination, greatly enforced the precepts of education. In this way, her very virtues became the source of her errors. Unfortunately, she lived in an age and station which attached to these errors the most momentous consequences.[22]—But we gladly turn from these dark prospects to a brighter page of her history.

[22] Llorente sums up his account of the expulsion by assigning the following motives to the principal agents in the business. "The measure," he says, "may be referred to the fanaticism of Torquemada, to the avarice and superstition of Ferdinand, to the false ideas and inconsiderate zeal with which they had inspired Isabella, to whom history cannot refuse the praise of great sweetness of disposition and an enlightened mind." Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. ch. 7, sec. 10.

CHAPTER XVIII

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF FERDINAND—RETURN AND SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS

1492–1493

Attempt on Ferdinand's Life—Consternation and Loyalty of the People—Return of Columbus—His Progress to Barcelona—Interviews with the Sovereigns—Sensations caused by the Discovery—Regulation of Trade—Conversion of the Natives—Famous Bulls of Alexander VI.—Jealousy of Portugal—Second Voyage of Columbus—Treaty of Tordesillas

TOWARDS the latter end of May, 1492, the Spanish sovereigns quitted Granada, between which and Santa Fe they had divided their time since the surrender of the Moorish metropolis. They were occupied during the two following months with the affairs of Castile. In August they visited Aragon, proposing to establish their winter residence there, in order to provide for its internal administration and conclude the negotiations for the final surrender of Roussillon and Cerdagne by France, to which these provinces had been mortgaged by Ferdinand's father, John the Second; proving ever since a fruitful source of diplomacy, which threatened more than once to terminate in open rupture.

Ferdinand and Isabella arrived in Aragon on the 8th of August, accompanied by Prince John and the infantas and a brilliant train of Castilian

nobles. In their progress through the country they were everywhere received with the most lively enthusiasm. The whole nation seemed to abandon itself to jubilee at the approach of its illustrious sovereigns, whose heroic constancy had rescued Spain from the detested empire of the Saracens. After devoting some months to the internal police of the kingdom, the court transferred its residence to Catalonia, whose capital it reached about the middle of October. During its detention in this place, Ferdinand's career was wellnigh brought to an untimely close.[1]

It was a good old custom of Catalonia, long since fallen into desuetude, for the monarch to preside in the tribunals of justice at least once a week, for the purpose of determining the suits of the poorer classes especially, who could not afford the more expensive forms of litigation. King Ferdinand, in conformity with this usage, held a court in the house of deputation, on the 7th of December, being the vigil of the Conception of the Virgin. At noon, as he was preparing to quit the palace, after the conclusion of business, he lingered in the rear of his retinue, conversing with some of the officers of the court. As the party was issuing from a little chapel contiguous to the royal saloon, and just as the king was descending a flight of stairs, a ruffian darted from an obscure recess in which he had concealed himself early in the morning, and aimed a blow with a short sword, or knife, at the back of Ferdinand's neck. For-

[1] Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 13.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

tunately the edge of the weapon was turned by a gold chain or collar which he was in the habit of wearing. It inflicted, however, a deep wound between the shoulders. Ferdinand instantly cried out, "St. Mary preserve us! treason! treason!" and his attendants, rushing on the assassin, stabbed him in three places with their poniards, and would have despatched him on the spot, had not the king, with his usual presence of mind, commanded them to desist, and take the man alive, that they might ascertain the real authors of the conspiracy. This was done accordingly, and Ferdinand, fainting with loss of blood, was carefully removed to his apartments in the royal palace.[2]

The report of the catastrophe spread like wildfire through the city. All classes were thrown into consternation by so foul an act, which seemed to cast a stain on the honor and good faith of the Catalans. Some suspected it to be the work of a vindictive Moor, others of a disappointed courtier. The queen, who had swooned on first receiving intelligence of the event, suspected the ancient enmity of the Catalans, who had shown such deter-

[2] Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 15.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 116.—Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. pp. 678, 679.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 315.—Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1492.—Oviedo, Guincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 4, dial. 9.—A brief account of this event, with a very long and ostentatious commentary on its enormity, is to be found in a rare and curious old volume, entitled "Los Tratados del Doctor Alonso Ortiz," printed at Seville in 1493, the same year with the intended assassination. The writer, a canon of the metropolitan church of Toledo, pours forth a flood of eloquence on this occasion, in a discourse addressed to the Catholic sovereign, which, whatever merit it may have in a rhetorical point of view, bears abundant testimony to his loyalty.

mined opposition to her husband in his early youth. She gave instant orders to hold in readiness one of the galleys lying in the port, in order to transport her children from the place, as she feared the conspiracy might be designed to embrace other victims.[3]

The populace, in the mean while, assembled in great numbers round the palace where the king lay. All feelings of hostility had long since given way to devoted loyalty towards a government which had uniformly respected the liberties of its subjects, and whose paternal sway had secured similar blessings to Barcelona with the rest of the empire. They thronged round the building, crying out that the king was slain, and demanding that his murderers should be delivered up to them. Ferdinand, exhausted as he was, would have presented himself at the window of his apartment, but was prevented from making the effort by his physicians. It was with great difficulty that the people were at length satisfied that he was still living, and that they finally consented to disperse, on the assurance that the assassin should be brought to condign punishment.

The king's wound, which did not appear dangerous at first, gradually exhibited more alarming

[3] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 125.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 116.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, ubi supra.—The great bell of Velilla, whose miraculous tolling always announced some disaster to the monarchy, was heard to strike at the time of this assault on Ferdinand, being the fifth time since the subversion of the kingdom by the Moors. The fourth was on the assassination of the inquisitor Arbues. All which is established by a score of good orthodox witnesses, as reported by Dr. Diego Dormer, in his Discursos varios, pp. 206, 207.

symptoms. One of the bones was found to be fractured, and a part of it was removed by the surgeons. On the seventh day his situation was considered extremely critical. During this time the queen was constantly by his side, watching with him day and night, and administering all his medicines with her own hand. At length, the unfavorable symptoms yielded; and his excellent constitution enabled him so far to recover, that in less than three weeks he was able to show himself to the eyes of his anxious subjects, who gave themselves up to a delirium of joy, offering thanksgivings and grateful oblations in the churches; while many a pilgrimage, which had been vowed for his restoration to health, was performed by the good people of Barcelona, with naked feet, and even on their knees, among the wild sierras that surround the city.

The author of the crime proved to be a peasant, about sixty years of age, of that humble class, *de remenza,* as it was termed, which Ferdinand had been instrumental some few years before in releasing from the baser and more grinding pains of servitude. The man appeared to be insane; alleging, in vindication of his conduct, that he was the rightful proprietor of the crown, which he expected to obtain by Ferdinand's death. He declared himself willing, however, to give up his pretensions, on condition of being set at liberty. The king, convinced of his alienation of mind, would have discharged him; but the Catalans, indignant at the reproach which such a crime seemed to attach to their own honor, and perhaps distrust-

ing the plea of insanity, thought it necessary to expatiate it by the blood of the offender, and condemned the unhappy wretch to the dreadful doom of a traitor; the preliminary barbarities of the sentence, however, were remitted, at the intercession of the queen.[4]

In the spring of 1493, while the court was still at Barcelona, letters were received from Christopher Columbus, announcing his return to Spain, and the successful achievement of his great enterprise, by the discovery of land beyond the western ocean. The delight and astonishment raised by this intelligence were proportioned to the skepticism with which his project had been originally viewed. The sovereigns were now filled with a natural impatience to ascertain the extent and other particulars of the important discovery; and they transmitted instant instructions to the admiral to repair to Barcelona as soon as he should have made the preliminary arrangements for the further prosecution of his enterprise.[5]

[4] Tratados del Doctor Alonso Ortiz, Tratado primero.—L. Marineo Cosas memorables, fol. 186.—Peter Martyr, opus Epist., epist. 125, 127, 131.—Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 16.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., loc. cit.—Garibay, after harrowing the reader's feelings with half a column of inhuman cruelties inflicted on the miserable man, concludes with the comfortable assurance, "Pero ahogaronle primero por clemencia y misericordia de la Reyna." (Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 1.) A letter written by Isabella to her confessor, Fernando de Talavera, during her husband's illness, shows the deep anxiety of her own mind, as well as that of the citizens of Barcelona, at his critical situation, furnishing abundant evidence, if it were needed, of her tenderness of heart and the warmth of her conjugal attachment. See Correspondencia epistolar, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 13.

[5] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sect. 13, 14.—Columbus concludes a letter

The great navigator had succeeded, as is well known, after a voyage the natural difficulties of which had been much augmented by the distrust and mutinous spirit of his followers, in descrying land on Friday, the 12th of October, 1492.* After some months spent in exploring the delight-

addressed, on his arrival at Lisbon, to the treasurer Sanchez, in the following glowing terms: "Let processions be made, festivals held, temples filled with branches and flowers, for Christ rejoices on earth as in heaven, seeing the future redemption of souls. Let us rejoice, also, for the temporal benefit likely to result, not merely to Spain, but to all Christendom." See Primer Viage de Colon, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i.

* [What Guanahani, the first island seen by Columbus, was is still a matter of controversy. Winsor, Nar. and Crit. History of America, pp. 52–56, sums up with his conscientious accuracy the various theories. The journal of Columbus is the only source that can possibly be consulted, and even that journal is accessible only in the abridgment of Las Casas. Moreover, Columbus uses various terms to describe the island. In one place he calls it "isleta," in another "isla grande." Any attempt to determine the position by nautical reasoning, based on the log of Columbus, is useless, because of the admitted inaccuracies of that log. Las Casas calls the island "Triango," and says this was the name by which it was known in his day. On some of the earlier maps this name is attached to one of the Bahama Islands; but, unfortunately for this theory, the name Guanahani also appears on an island on that same map. Harrisse, Christophe Colombe, son origine, etc., vol. i., Paris, 1884, thinks Columbus first saw Triango, the isleta, and first landed upon the isla grande, Guanahani. Guanahani he concludes was Acklin Island, the largest of the Crooked Island group. The other islands favored by recognized authorities are San Salvador, or Cat, the island usually specified on seventeenth and eighteenth century maps, and fixed upon by Alexander S. Mackenzie in Irving's Life of Columbus,—Watling's, first suggested by Muñoz in 1793, and advocated by Captain Becher, of the English navy, by Peschel in his Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen, and by Lieutenant Murdock, U.S.N., —Grand Turk, first suggested by Navarrete, 1825,—Mariguana, favored by Varnhagen, in 1864, and Samana, or Attwood's Cay, selected by Gustavus B. Fox in the United States Coast Survey Report, 1880, app. xviii., "An attempt to solve the problem of the first landing-place of Columbus in the New World." To Samana the judgment of many competent critics seems to be converging.—M.]

ful regions now for the first time thrown open to the eyes of a European, he embarked in the month of January, 1493, for Spain. One of his vessels had previously foundered, and another had deserted him; * so that he was left alone to retrace his

* [This is not quite correct. Pinzon did desert Columbus in the West Indies, but he returned to him before he sailed upon the return voyage. He reached Palos in the "Pinta" on the same day that Columbus landed from the "Niña." We hear no more from him, because he died so shortly after his return. The return voyage of Columbus was extraordinarily tempestuous. Lamartine, in his Christophe Colomb, tells us that at one time several casks, with documents containing accounts of the discoveries, were cast overboard, and that one of these casks was picked up after the lapse of three hundred years. Lafuente, Hist. Gen. de España, vol. ix. p. 463, actually gives the name of the vessel that picked up one of the documents of Columbus, on August 27th, 1852. His account of the discovery is most interesting.

"En este mismo año de 1852 hemos leido en un diaro de Gibraltar, *La Marine,* la especie siguiente.

"El capitan d'Auberbille del buque Chieftain, de Boston, escribe á un periódico Americano (al qual dejamos la responsibilidad de este narracion) que hallándose en Gibraltar el 27 de Agosto último para la reparacion de su brik, pasó el estrecho y se dirigió a Africa, con el objeto de cazar y hacer investigaciones de curiosidades geologicas. A su regreso el viento que hacia exigió que aumentaran el lastre del buque, y uno de los marineros al levantar lo que juzgaba ser un fragmento de roca, quedó soprendido al notar lo ligero que era. Al pronto creyeron que seria una piedra pomez: mas luego vieron que era una caja de cedro; procedíeron á abrirla, y hallaron una nuez de coco cubierta de resina, y dentro de ella un pergamino escrito en caracteres góticos casi ininteligibles, y que ninguno de la tripulacion pudo descifrar. Recurrieron á un librero Americano de Gibraltar, que tenia reputacion de inteligente, y éste ofreció desde luego trescientos duros por el pergamino, á lo que se negó el Capitan. Entonces el Americano le leyó la carta, y la tradujo al Español. Hallábase dirigida á Fernando y Isabel con fecha 1493 y decia; 'Ya es imposible resistir un dia mas á la borrasca. Nos hallamos entre España y las islas de Oriente. Si la carabela zozobra, plegue Á Dios que alguien puede hallar este documento.' Está firmado con pulso firme, q la letra corrida, 'Cristóbal Colon,' Esta preciosa reliquia debe haber estado flotando 358 años sobre el océano."

Lafuente then goes on to give the reasons which prevent him from believing implicitly in the genuineness of the relic. His special hesi-

course across the Atlantic. After a most tempestuous voyage, he was compelled to take shelter in the Tagus, sorely against his inclination.[6] He experienced, however, the most honorable reception from the Portuguese monarch, John the Second, who did ample justice to the great qualities of Columbus, although he had failed to profit by them.[7] After a brief delay, the admiral resumed

[6] Herrera, Indias occidentales, tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 2.—Primer Viage de Colon, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 39.—The Portuguese historian, Faria y Sousa, appears to be nettled at the prosperous issue of the voyage; for he testily remarks that "the admiral entered Lisbon with a vainglorious exultation, in order to make Portugal feel, by displaying the tokens of his discovery, how much she had erred in not acceding to his propositions." Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. pp. 462, 463.

[7] My learned friend Mr. John Pickering has pointed out to me a passage in a Portuguese author giving some particulars of Columbus's visit to Portugal. The passage, which I have not seen noticed by any writer, is extremely interesting, coming, as it does, from a person high in the royal confidence, and an eye-witness of what he relates. "In the year 1493, on the sixth day of March, arrived in Lisbon Christopher Columbus, an Italian, who came from the discovery made under the authority of the sovereigns of Castile, of the islands of Cipango and Antilia; from which countries he brought with him the first specimens of the people, as well as of the gold and other things to be found there, and he was entitled admiral of them. The king, being forthwith informed of this, commanded him into his presence; and appeared to be annoyed and vexed, as well from the belief that the said discovery was made within the seas and boundaries of his seigniory of Guinea,—which might give rise to disputes,—as because the said admiral, having become somewhat haughty by his situation, and in the relation of his adventures always exceeding the bounds of truth, made this affair, as to gold, silver, and riches,

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tation arises from the signature, Cristóbal Colon, "con pulso firme y letra corrida."

The incident is most interesting, as tending to prove that the journalists of Boston were not entirely lacking in enterprise in the year of our Lord 1852; and that, in that same year of grace, Spanish historians still retained traces of the child-like faith which so strongly characterized their mediæval ancestors.—M.]

his voyage, and, crossing the bar of Saltes, entered the harbor of Palos about noon on the 15th of March, 1493, being exactly seven months and eleven days since his departure from that port.[8]

Great was the agitation in the little community of Palos as they beheld the well-known vessel of the admiral re-entering their harbor. Their desponding imaginations had long since consigned him to a watery grave; for, in addition to the preternatural horrors which hung over the voyage, they had experienced the most stormy and disastrous winter within the recollection of the oldest mariners.[9] Most of them had relatives or friends on board. They thronged immediately to the

much greater than it was. Especially did the king accuse himself of negligence, in having declined this enterprise, when Columbus first came to ask his assistance, from want of credit and confidence in it. And, notwithstanding the king was importuned to kill him on the spot; since with his death the prosecution of the undertaking, so far as the sovereigns of Castile were concerned, would cease, from want of a suitable person to take charge of it; and notwithstanding this might be done without suspicion of the king's being privy to it,—for inasmuch as the admiral was overbearing and puffed up by his success, they might easily bring it about that his own indiscretion should appear the occasion of his death,—yet the king, as he was a prince greatly fearing God, not only forbade this, but even showed the admiral honor and much favor, and therewith dismissed him." Ruy de Pina, Chronica d'el Rei Dom Joao II., cap. 66, apud Collecção de Livros ineditos de Historia Portugueza (Lisboa, 1790–93), tom. ii.

[8] Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 40, 41.—Charlevoix, Histoire de S. Domingue (Paris, 1730), tom. i. pp. 84–90.—Primer Viage de Colon, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. i.—La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 53–58.—Columbus sailed from Spain on Friday, discovered land on Friday, and re-entered the port of Palos on Friday. These curious coincidences should have sufficed, one might think, to dispel, especially with American mariners, the superstitious dread, still so prevalent, of commencing a voyage on that ominous day.

[9] Primer Viage de Colon, Let. 2.

shore, to assure themselves with their own eyes of the truth of their return. When they beheld their faces once more, and saw them accompanied by the numerous evidences which they brought back of the success of the expedition, they burst forth in acclamations of joy and gratulation. They awaited the landing of Columbus, when the whole population of the place accompanied him and his crew * to the principal church, where solemn thanksgivings were offered up for their return; while every bell in the village sent forth a joyous peal in honor of the glorious event. The admiral was too desirous of presenting himself before the sovereigns, to protract his stay long at Palos. He took with him on his journey specimens of the multifarious products of the newly-discovered regions. He was accompanied by several of the native islanders, arrayed in their simple barbaric costume, and decorated, as he passed through the principal cities, with collars, bracelets, and other ornaments of gold, rudely fashioned; he exhibited also considerable quantities of the same metal in dust, or in crude masses,[10] numerous vegetable exotics, possessed of aromatic or medicinal virtue, and several kinds of quadrupeds unknown in Europe, and birds whose varieties of gaudy plu-

[10] Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 14.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 41.—Among other specimens was a lump of gold of sufficient magnitude to be fashioned into a vessel for containing the host; "thus," says Salazar de Mendoza, "converting the first-fruits of the new dominions to pious uses." Monarquía, pp. 351, 352.

* [Among the crew of Columbus was Tallerte de Lajes, whom some historians have conjectured to have been an Englishman, Arthur Lake. Guillermo Ives, of Galway, may have been William Rice, or Harris.—M.]

mage gave a brilliant effect to the pageant. The admiral's progress through the country was everywhere impeded by the multitudes thronging forth to gaze at the extraordinary spectacle, and the more extraordinary man, who, in the emphatic language of that time, which has now lost its force from its familiarity, first revealed the existence of a "New World." As he passed through the busy, populous city of Seville, every window, balcony, and housetop which could afford a glimpse of him is described to have been crowded with spectators. It was the middle of April before Columbus reached Barcelona. The nobility and cavaliers in attendance on the court, together with the authorities of the city, came to the gates to receive him, and escorted him to the royal presence. Ferdinand and Isabella were seated, with their son, Prince John, under a superb canopy of state, awaiting his arrival. On his approach, they rose from their seats, and, extending their hands to him to salute, caused him to be seated before them. These were unprecedented marks of condescension to a person of Columbus's rank, in the haughty and ceremonious court of Castile. It was, indeed, the proudest moment in the life of Columbus. He had fully established the truth of his long-contested theory, in the face of argument, sophistry, sneer, skepticism, and contempt.* He had achieved this, not by chance, but by calculation supported through the most adverse circum-

* [Not fully. He had not discovered the land he sought. He had not then even discovered a new continent. As Justin Winsor puts it, "His discovery was a blunder, his blunder was a new world, the new world is his monument."—M.]

stances by consummate conduct. The honors paid him, which had hitherto been reserved only for rank, or fortune, or military success, purchased by the blood and tears of thousands, were in his case a homage to intellectual power successfully exerted in behalf of the noblest interests of humanity.[11]

After a brief interval, the sovereigns requested from Columbus a recital of his adventures. His manner was sedate and dignified, but warmed by the glow of natural enthusiasm. He enumerated the several islands which he had visited, expatiated on the temperate climate, and the capacity of the soil for every variety of agricultural production, appealing to the samples imported by him as evidence of their natural fruitfulness. He dwelt more at large on the precious metals to be found in these islands, which he inferred, less from the specimens actually obtained, than from the uniform testimony of the natives to their abundance in the unexplored regions of the interior. Lastly, he pointed out the wide scope afforded to Christian zeal, in the illumination of a race of men whose minds, far from being wedded to any system of idolatry, were prepared by their extreme simplicity for the reception of pure and uncorrupted doctrine. The last consideration touched Isabella's heart most sensibly; and the whole

[11] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 133, 134, 140.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 118.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. pp. 141, 142.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, ubi supra.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 413.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 17.—Benzoni, Novi Orbis Hist., lib. 1, cap. 8, 9.—Gallo, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiii. p. 203.

audience, kindled with various emotions by the speaker's eloquence, filled up the perspective with the gorgeous coloring of their own fancies, as ambition, or avarice, or devotional feeling predominated in their bosoms. When Columbus ceased, the king and queen, together with all present, prostrated themselves on their knees in grateful thanksgiving, while the solemn strains of the Te Deum were poured forth by the choir of the royal chapel, as in commemoration of some glorious victory.[12]

The discoveries of Columbus excited a sensation, particularly among men of science, in the most distant parts of Europe, strongly contrasting with the apathy which had preceded them. They congratulated one another on being reserved for an age which had witnessed the consummation of so grand an event. The learned Martyr, who, in his multifarious correspondence, had not even deigned to notice the preparations for the voyage of discovery, now lavished the most unbounded panegyric on its results; which he contemplated with the eye of a philosopher, having far less reference to considerations of profit or policy than to the prospect which they unfolded of enlarging the boundaries of knowledge.[13] Most of the scholars

[12] Herrera, Indias occidentales, tom. i. dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 15, 16, 17.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, ubi supra.

[13] In a letter written soon after the admiral's return, Martyr announces the discovery to his correspondent, Cardinal Sforza, in the following manner: "Mira res ex eo terrarum orbe, quem sol horarum quatuor et viginti spatio circuit, ad nostra usque tempora, quod minime te latet, trita cognitaque dimidia tantum pars, ab Aurea utpote Chersoneso, ad Gades nostras Hispanas, reliqua vero a cos-

of the day, however, adopted the erroneous hypothesis of Columbus, who considered the lands he had discovered as bordering on the eastern shores of Asia, and lying adjacent to the vast and opulent regions depicted in such golden colors by Mandeville and the Poli. This conjecture, which was conformable to the admiral's opinions before undertaking the voyage, was corroborated by the apparent similarity between various natural productions of these islands and of the East. From this misapprehension, the new dominions soon came to be distinguished as the West Indies, an appellation by which they are still recognized in the titles of the Spanish crown.[14]

mographis pro incognitâ relicta est. Et si quæ mentio facta, ea tenuis et incerta. Nunc autem, o beatum facinus! meorum regum auspiciis, quod latuit hactenus a rerum primordio, intelligi cœptum est." In a subsequent epistle to the learned Pomponio Leto, he breaks out in a strain of warm and generous sentiment: "Præ lætitiâ prosiliisse te, vixque a lachrymis præ gaudio temperasse, quando literas adspexisti meas, quibus de Antipodum Orbe latenti hactenus, te certiorem feci, mi suavissime Pomponi, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo, quid senseris. Sensisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summâ doctrinâ insignitum decuit. Quis namque cibus sublimibus præstari potest ingeniis isto suavior? quod condimentum gravius? a me facio conjecturam. Beari sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prudentes aliquos ex his qui ab eâ redeunt provinciâ. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari, libidinibus obscœni; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquandiu fuerimus, contemplando, hujuscemodi rerum notitiâ demulceamus." Opus Epist., epist. 124, 152.

[14] Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 118.—Gallo, apud Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script., tom. xxiii. p. 203.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 18.—Peter Martyr seems to have received the popular inference, respecting the identity of the new discoveries with the East Indies, with some distrust: "Insulas reperit plures; has esse, de quibus fit apud cosmographos mentio extra Oceanum Orientalem, adjacentes Indiæ arbitrantur. Nec inficior ego penitus, quamvis sphæræ magnitudo aliter sentire videatur; neque enim desunt qui parvo tractu a finibus Hispanis distare littus Indicum, putent." Opus Epist., epist. 135.

Columbus, during his residence at Barcelona, continued to receive from the Spanish sovereigns the most honorable distinctions which royal bounty could confer. When Ferdinand rode abroad, he was accompanied by the admiral at his side. The courtiers, in emulation of their master, made frequent entertainments, at which he was treated with the punctilious deference paid to a noble of the highest class.[15] But the attentions most grateful to his lofty spirit were the preparations of the Spanish court for prosecuting his discoveries on a scale commensurate with their importance. A board was established for the direction of Indian affairs, consisting of a superintendent and two subordinate functionaries. The first of these officers was Juan de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, an active, ambitious prelate, subsequently raised to high episcopal preferment, whose shrewdness and capacity for business enabled him to retain the control of the Indian department during the whole of the present reign. An office for the transaction of business was instituted at Seville, and a custom-house placed under its direction at Cadiz. This was the origin of the important

[15] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3.—Benzoni, Novi Orbis Hist., lib. 1, cap. 8.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 17.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 413.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, ubi supra.—He was permitted to quarter the royal arms with his own, which consisted of a group of golden islands amid azure billows. To these were afterwards added five anchors, with the celebrated motto, well known as being carved on his sepulchre. (See Part II. chap. 18.) He received besides, soon after his return, the substantial gratuity of a thousand doblas of gold, from the royal treasury, and the premium of 10,000 maravedis, promised to the person who first descried land. See Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Col. diplom., nos. 20, 32, 38.

establishment of the *Casa de la Contratacion de las Indias,* or India House.[16]

The commercial regulations adopted exhibit a narrow policy in some of their features, for which a justification may be found in the spirit of the age, and in the practice of the Portuguese particularly, but which entered still more largely into the colonial legislation of Spain under later princes. The new territories, far from being permitted free intercourse with foreign nations, were opened only under strict limitations to Spanish subjects, and were reserved, as forming, in some sort, part of the exclusive revenue of the crown. All persons of whatever description were interdicted, under the severest penalties, from trading with or even visiting the Indies without license from the constituted authorities. It was impossible to evade this, as a minute specification of the ships, cargoes, crews, with the property appertaining to each individual, was required to be taken at the office in Cadiz, and a corresponding registration in a similar office established at Hispaniola. A more sagacious spirit was manifested in the ample provision made of whatever could contribute to the support or permanent prosperity of the infant colony. Grain, plants, the seeds of numerous vegetable products, which in the genial climate of the Indies might be made valuable articles for domestic consumption or export, were liberally furnished. Commodities of every description for the supply of the fleet were exempted from duty.

[16] Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii. Col. diplom., no. 45.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 21.

The owners of all vessels throughout the ports of Andalusia were required, by an ordinance somewhat arbitrary, to hold them in readiness for the expedition. Still further authority was given to impress both officers and men, if necessary, into the service. Artisans of every sort, provided with the implements of their various crafts, including a great number of miners for exploring the subterraneous treasures of the new regions, were enrolled in the expedition; in order to defray the heavy charges of which, the government, in addition to the regular resources, had recourse to a loan, and to the sequestrated property of the exiled Jews.[17]

Amid their own temporal concerns, the Spanish sovereigns did not forget the spiritual interests of their new subjects. The Indians who accompanied Columbus to Barcelona had been all of them baptized, being offered up, in the language of a Castilian writer, as the first-fruits of the gentiles. King Ferdinand and his son, Prince John, stood as sponsors to two of them, who were permitted to take their names. One of the Indians remained attached to the prince's establishment; the residue were sent to Seville, whence, after suitable religious instruction, they were to be returned as missionaries for the propagation of the faith among their own countrymen. Twelve Spanish ecclesiastics were also destined to this service; among whom was the celebrated Las

[17] Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Col. diplom., nos. 33, 35, 45.—Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 4.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 21.

Casas,* so conspicuous afterwards for his benevolent exertions in behalf of the unfortunate natives. The most explicit directions were given to the admiral to use every effort for the illumination of the poor heathen, which was set forth as the primary object of the expedition. He was particularly enjoined "to abstain from all means of annoyance, and to treat them well and lovingly, maintaining a familiar intercourse with them, rendering them all the kind offices in his power, distributing presents of the merchandise and various commodities which their Highnesses had caused to be embarked on board the fleet for that purpose; and finally, to chastise, in the most exemplary manner, all who should offer the natives the slightest molestation." Such were the instructions emphatically urged on Columbus for the regulation of his intercourse with the savages; and their indulgent tenor sufficiently attests the benevolent and rational views of Isabella in religious matters, when not warped by any foreign influence.[18]

[18] See the original instructions, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Col. diplom., no. 45.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 22.—Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 413.—L. Marineo eagerly claims the conversion of the natives as the prime object of the expedition with the sovereigns, far outweighing all temporal considerations. The passage is worth quoting, if only to show what egregious blunders a contemporary may make in the relation of events passing, as it were, under his own eyes. "The Catholic sovereigns having subjugated the Canaries, and established Christian worship there, sent *Peter Colon* with *thirty-five* ships, called caravels, and *a great number of men,* to other much larger islands abounding in mines of gold, not so much, however, for the sake of the gold, as for the salvation of the poor heathen natives." Cosas memorables, fol. 161.

* [This is a mistake, which the author has corrected in the History of the Conquest of Mexico. Las Casas, who was at this time a student, did not embark for the New World till some years later.—K.]

Towards the last of May, Columbus quitted Barcelona for the purpose of superintending and expediting the preparations for departure on his second voyage. He was accompanied to the gates of the city by all the nobility and cavaliers of the court. Orders were issued to the different towns to provide him and his suite with lodgings free of expense. His former commission was not only confirmed in its full extent, but considerably enlarged. For the sake of despatch, he was authorized to nominate all offices, without application to government; and ordinances and letters patent, bearing the royal seal, were to be issued by him, subscribed by himself or his deputy. He was intrusted, in fine, with such unlimited jurisdiction as showed that, however tardy the sovereigns may have been in granting him their confidence, they were not disposed to stint the measure of it when his deserts were once established.[19]

[19] See copies of the original documents, apud Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Col. diplom., nos. 39, 41, 42, 43.—Considering the importance of Columbus's discoveries, and the distinguished reception given to him at Barcelona, one might have expected to find some notice of him in the records of the city. An intelligent friend of mine, Mr. George Sumner, on a visit to that capital, examined these records, as well as the archives of the crown of Aragon, in the hope of meeting with some such account, but in vain. The *dietaria,* or "day-book," of Barcelona records the entrance of the Catholic sovereigns and the heir apparent into the city, on the 14th of November, 1492, in the following terms: "The king, the queen, and the prince entered to-day the city, and took up their abode in the palace of the bishop of Urgil, in the Calle Ancha." Then follows a description of the shows and rejoicings which took place on the occasion. After this come two other entries: "1493, February 4. The king, the queen, and the prince went to Montserrat." "February 14. The king, the queen, and the prince returned to Barcelona." But not a word is given to the discoverer of a world! And we can only conjecture that the haughty Catalan felt no desire to communicate an event

Soon after Columbus's return to Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella applied to the court of Rome to confirm them in the possession of their recent discoveries and invest them with similar extent of jurisdiction with that formerly conferred on the kings of Portugal. It was an opinion, as ancient perhaps as the crusades, that the pope, as vicar of Christ, had competent authority to dispose of all countries inhabited by heathen nations, in favor of Christian potentates. Although Ferdinand and Isabella do not seem to have been fully satisfied of this right, yet they were willing to acquiesce in its assumption in the present instance, from the conviction that the papal sanction would most effectually exclude the pretensions of all others, and especially their Portuguese rivals. In their application to the Holy See they were careful to represent their own discoveries as in no way interfering with the rights formerly conceded by it to their neighbors. They enlarged on their services in the propagation of the faith, which they affirmed to be a principal motive of their present operations. They intimated, finally, that, although many competent persons deemed their application to the court of Rome for a title to territories already in their possession to be unnecessary, yet, as pious princes, and dutiful children of the church, they were unwilling to proceed further without the sanction of him to whose keeping its highest interests were intrusted.[20]

which reflected no glory on him, and the advantages of which were jealousy reserved for his Castilian rivals.

[20] Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 4.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 18.

The pontifical throne was at that time filled by Alexander the Sixth; a man who, although degraded by unrestrained indulgence of the most sordid appetites, was endowed by nature with singular acuteness as well as energy of character. He lent a willing ear to the application of the Spanish government, and made no hesitation in granting what cost him nothing, while it recognized the assumption of powers which had already begun to totter in the opinion of mankind.

On the 3d of May, 1493, he published a bull, in which, taking into consideration the eminent services of the Spanish monarchs in the cause of the church, especially in the subversion of the Mahometan empire in Spain, and willing to afford still wider scope for the prosecution of their pious labors, he, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge, and plenitude of apostolic power," confirmed them in the possession of all lands discovered, or hereafter to be discovered, by them in the western ocean, comprehending the same extensive rights of jurisdiction with those formerly conceded to the kings of Portugal.

This bull he supported by another, dated on the following day, in which the pope, in order to obviate any misunderstanding with the Portuguese, and acting, no doubt, on the suggestion of the Spanish sovereigns, defined with greater precision the intention of his original grant to the latter, by bestowing on them all such lands as they should discover to the west and south of an imaginary line, to be drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues to the west of the

Azores and Cape de Verd Islands.[21] * It seems to have escaped his Holiness that the Spaniards, by pursuing a western route, might in time reach the eastern limits of countries previously granted to the Portuguese. At least this would appear from the import of a third bull, issued September 25th of the same year, which invested the sovereigns with plenary authority over all countries discovered by them, whether in the East, or within the boundaries of India, all previous concessions to the contrary notwithstanding. With the title derived from actual possession thus fortified by the highest ecclesiastical sanction, the Spaniards might have promised themselves an uninterrupted career of discovery, but for the jealousy of their rivals the Portuguese.[22]

The court of Lisbon viewed with secret disquie-

[21] A point south of the meridian is something new in geometry; yet so says the bull of his Holiness: "Omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas, versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et constituendo unam lineam a Polo Arctico, scilicet septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicet meridiem." †

[22] See the original papal grants, transcribed by Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, tom. ii., Col. diplom., nos. 17, 18. Appendice al Col. diplom., no. 11.

* [The Azores and Cape Verde Islands, between the eastern and western points of which there is a distance of ten degrees, were supposed to be in the same longitude.—M.]

† [Professor E. G. Bourne suggests that this strange use of geometrical terms may have resulted from a "confusion of thought resulting from the fact that the islands discovered by Columbus lay to the south of west from Europe or the Azores, and that the pope evidently thought of the discoveries as to be prosecuted west and south. With this thought in mind, he had used the terms "versus occidentem et meridiem" appropriately a few lines before. The History and the Determination of the Line of Demarcation established by Pope Alexander VI., between the Spanish and Portuguese fields of Discovery and Colonization.—M.]

tude the increasing maritime enterprise of its neighbors. While the Portuguese were timidly creeping along the barren shores of Africa, the Spaniards had boldly launched into the deep, and rescued unknown realms from its embraces, which teemed in their fancies with treasures of inestimable wealth. Their mortification was greatly enhanced by the reflection that all this might have been achieved for themselves, had they but known how to profit by the proposals of Columbus.[23] From the first moment in which the success of the admiral's enterprise was established, John the Second, a politic and ambitious prince, had sought some pretence to check the career of discovery, or at least to share in the spoils of it.[24]

In his interview with Columbus, at Lisbon, he suggested that the discoveries of the Spaniards might interfere with the rights secured to the Portuguese * by repeated papal sanctions since the beginning of the present century, and guaranteed by the treaty with Spain in 1479. Columbus, without entering into the discussion, contented himself with declaring that he had been instructed

[23] Padre Abarca considers "that the discovery of a new world, first offered to the kings of Portugal and England, was reserved by Heaven for Spain, being *forced,* in a manner, on Ferdinand, in recompense for the subjugation of the Moors and the expulsion of the Jews"! Reyes de Aragon, fol. 310, 311.

[24] La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 53–58.

* ["Portugal had almost reason to complain of the glorious intrusion of Columbus. She took the right way and found the Indies, while he took the wrong way and missed them." Seeley, The Expansion of England, p. 83. As Professor Seeley also points out, while the result of the error of Columbus was the discovery of America, yet the Portuguese also discovered a most important part of America when they saw the headlands of Brazil.—M.]

by his own government to steer clear of all Portuguese settlements on the African coast, and that his course indeed had led him in an entirely different direction. Although John professed himself satisfied with the explanation, he soon after despatched an ambassador to Barcelona, who, after dwelling on some irrelevant topics, touched as it were incidentally on the real object of his mission, the late voyage of discovery. He congratulated the Spanish sovereigns on its success, expatiated on the civilities shown by the court of Lisbon to Columbus on his late arrival there, and acknowledged the satisfaction felt by his master at the orders given to the admiral to hold a western course from the Canaries, expressing a hope that the same course would be pursued in future, without interfering with the rights of Portugal by deviation to the south. This was the first occasion on which the existence of such claims had been intimated by the Portuguese.

In the mean while, Ferdinand and Isabella received intelligence that King John was equipping a considerable armament in order to anticipate or defeat their discoveries in the west. They instantly sent one of their household, Don Lope de Herrera, as ambassador to Lisbon, with instructions to make their acknowledgments to the king for his hospitable reception of Columbus, accompanied with a request that he would prohibit his subjects from interference with the discoveries of the Spaniards in the west, in the same manner as these latter had been excluded from the Portuguese possessions in Africa. The ambassador was

furnished with orders of a different import, provided he should find the reports correct respecting the equipment and probable destination of a Portuguese armada. Instead of a conciliatory deportment, he was in that case to assume a tone of remonstrance, and to demand a full explanation from King John of his designs. The cautious prince, who had received, through his secret agents in Castile, intelligence of these latter instructions, managed matters so discreetly as to give no occasion for their exercise. He abandoned, or at least postponed, his meditated expedition, in the hope of adjusting the dispute by negotiation, in which he excelled. In order to quiet the apprehensions of the Spanish court, he engaged to fit out no fleet from his dominions within sixty days; at the same time he sent a fresh mission to Barcelona, with directions to propose an amicable adjustment of the conflicting claims of the two nations, by making the parallel of the Canaries a line of partition between them; the right of discovery to the north being reserved to the Spaniards, and that to the south to the Portuguese.[25]

While this game of diplomacy was going on, the Castilian court availed itself of the interval afforded by its rival, to expedite preparations for the second voyage of discovery; which, through the personal activity of the admiral, and the facilities everywhere afforded him, were fully completed before the close of September. Instead of

[25] Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 463.—Herrera, Indias occidentales, loc. cit.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 27, 28.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 606, 607.—La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 53–58.

the reluctance, and indeed avowed disgust, which had been manifested by all classes to his former voyage, the only embarrassment now arose from the difficulty of selection among the multitude of competitors who pressed to be enrolled in the present expedition. The reports and sanguine speculations of the first adventurers had inflamed the cupidity of many, which was still further heightened by the exhibition of the rich and curious products which Columbus had brought back with him, and by the popular belief that the new discoveries formed part of that gorgeous East

> "whose caverns teem
> With diamond flaming, and with seeds of gold,"

and which tradition and romance had alike invested with the supernatural splendors of enchantment. Many others were stimulated by the wild love of adventure which had been kindled in the long Moorish war, but which now, excluded from that career, sought other objects in the vast, untravelled regions of the New World. The complement of the fleet was originally fixed at twelve hundred souls, a number eventually swelled through importunity or various pretences of the applicants to fifteen hundred. Among these were many who enlisted without compensation, including several persons of rank, hidalgos, and members of the royal household. The whole squadron amounted to seventeen vessels, three of them of one hundred tons' burden each. With this gallant navy, Columbus, dropping down the Guadalquivir, took his departure from the bay of

Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493; presenting a striking contrast to the melancholy plight in which, but the year previous, he had sallied forth like some forlorn knight-errant on a desperate and chimerical enterprise.[26]

No sooner had the fleet weighed anchor than Ferdinand and Isabella despatched an embassy in solemn state to advise the king of Portugal of it. This embassy was composed of two persons of distinguished rank, Don Pedro de Ayala and Don Garci Lopez de Carbajal. Agreeably to their instructions, they represented to the Portuguese monarch the inadmissibility of his propositions respecting the boundary-line of navigation; they argued that the grants of the Holy See, and the treaty with Spain in 1479, had reference merely to the actual possessions of Portugal, and the right of discovery by an eastern route along the coasts of Africa to the Indies; that these rights had been invariably respected by Spain; that the late voyage of Columbus struck into a directly opposite track; and that the several bulls of Pope Alexander the Sixth, prescribing the line of partition, not from east to west, but from the north to the south pole, were intended to secure to the Spaniards the exclusive right of discovery in the western ocean. The ambassadors concluded with offering, in the name of their sovereigns, to refer the whole matter in dispute to the arbitration of the court of Rome, or of any common umpire.

[26] Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, p. 413.—Fernando Colon, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 44.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 118.—Peter Martyr, De Rebus Oceanicis, dec. 1, lib. I.—Benzoni, Novi Orbis Historia, lib. 1, cap. 9.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. 20.

King John was deeply chagrined at learning the departure of the Spanish expedition. He saw that his rivals had been acting, while he had been amused with negotiation. He at first threw out hints of an immediate rupture, and endeavored, it is said, to intimidate the Castilian ambassadors by bringing them accidentally, as it were, in presence of a splendid array of cavaliers, mounted and ready for immediate service. He vented his spleen on the embassy, by declaring that "it was a mere abortion, having neither head nor feet;" alluding to the personal infirmity of Ayala, who was lame, and to the light, frivolous character of the other envoy.[27]

These symptoms of discontent were duly notified to the Spanish government, who commanded the superintendent, Fonseca, to keep a vigilant eye on the movements of the Portuguese, and, in case any hostile armament should quit their ports, to be in readiness to act against it with one double its force. King John, however, was too shrewd a prince to be drawn into so impolitic a measure as war with a powerful adversary, quite as likely to baffle him in the field as in the council. Neither did he relish the suggestion of deciding the dispute by arbitration, since he well knew that his claim rested on too unsound a basis to authorize the expectation of a favorable award from any impartial umpire. He had already failed in an application for redress to the court of Rome, which answered him by reference to its bulls,

[27] La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 53–58.—Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 4, sec. 27, 28.

recently published. In this emergency, he came to the resolution at last, which should have been at first adopted, of deciding the matter by a fair and open conference. It was not until the following year, however, that his discontent so far subsided as to allow his acquiescence in this measure.

At length, commissioners named by the two crowns convened at Tordesillas, and on the 7th of June, 1494, subscribed articles of agreement, which were ratified in the course of the same year by the respective powers. In this treaty the Spaniards were secured in the exclusive right of navigation and discovery in the western ocean. At the urgent remonstrance of the Portuguese, however, who complained that the papal line of demarcation cooped up their enterprises within too narrow limits, they consented that, instead of one hundred, it should be removed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verd islands, beyond which all discoveries should appertain to the Spanish nation. It was agreed that one or two caravels should be provided by each nation, to meet at the Grand Canary and proceed due west the appointed distance, with a number of scientific men on board, for the purpose of accurately determining the longitude; and, if any lands should fall under the meridian, the direction of the line should be ascertained by the erection of beacons at suitable distances. The proposed meeting never took place. But the removal of the partition-line was followed by important consequences to the Portuguese, who derived

from it their pretensions to the noble empire of Brazil.[28]

Thus the singular misunderstanding, which menaced an open rupture at one time, was happily adjusted. Fortunately, the accomplishment of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, which occurred soon afterwards, led the Portuguese in an opposite direction to their Spanish rivals, their Brazilian possessions having too little attractions, at first, to turn them from the splendid path of discovery thrown open in the East. It was not many years, however, before the two nations, by pursuing opposite routes of circumnavigation, were brought into collision on the other side of the globe; a circumstance never contemplated, apparently, by the treaty of Tordesillas. Their mutual pretensions were founded, however, on the provisions of that treaty, which, as the reader is aware, was itself only supplementary to the original bull of demarcation of Alexander the Sixth.[29] Thus this bold stretch of papal authority,* so

[28] Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Doc. diplom., no. 75.—Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 463.—Herrera, Indias occidentales, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, 10.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 606, 607.—La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 60–62.—Zurita, Anales, tom. v. fol. 31.

[29] The contested territory was the Molucca islands, which each party claimed for itself, by virtue of the treaty of Tordesillas. After more than one congress, in which all the cosmographical science of the day was put in requisition, the affair was terminated *à l'amiable* by the Spanish government's relinquishing its pretensions, in consideration of 350,000 ducats paid by the court of Lisbon. See La Clède, Hist de Portugal, tom. iv. pp. 309, 401, 402, 480.—Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 607, 875.—Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquía, tom. ii. pp. 205, 206.

* [The pope's authority to dispose of the newly discovered islands and lands was based originally upon the Pretended Donation of

often ridiculed as chimerical and absurd, was in a measure justified by the event, since it did, in fact, determine the principles on which the vast extent of unappropriated empire in the eastern and western hemispheres was ultimately divided between two petty states of Europe.

Constantine. The falsity of this "Donation" was not absolutely proved until 1440, and in 1493 its ideas still lingered in men's minds. The pope's power was not universally admitted, and his position in the disputes between Spain and Portugal respecting the ownership of the new countries was simply that of an arbitrator. The arrangement entered into by the Spanish and Portuguese commissioners was finally sanctioned by a bull of Pope Julius II., January 25th, 1506.—M.]

CHAPTER XIX

CASTILIAN LITERATURE—CULTIVATION OF THE COURT—CLASSICAL LEARNING—SCIENCE

Early Education of Ferdinand—Of Isabella—Her Library—Early Promise of Prince John—Scholarship of the Nobles—Accomplished Women—Classical Learning—Universities—Printing introduced—Encouraged by the Queen—Actual Progress of Science

WE have now arrived at the period when the history of Spain becomes incorporated with that of the other states of Europe. Before embarking on the wide sea of European politics, however, and bidding adieu, for a season, to the shores of Spain, it will be necessary, in order to complete the view of the internal administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, to show its operation on the intellectual culture of the nation. This, as it constitutes, when taken in its broadest sense, a principal end of all government, should never be altogether divorced from any history. It is particularly deserving of note in the present reign, which stimulated the active development of the national energies in every department of science, and which forms a leading epoch in the ornamental literature of the country. The present and the following chapter will embrace the mental progress of the kingdom, not merely down to the period at which we have arrived, but through the whole of Isabella's reign, in order to exhibit as far as possible its entire results, at a single glance, to the eye of the reader.

We have beheld, in a preceding chapter, the auspicious literary promise afforded by the reign of Isabella's father, John the Second of Castile. Under the anarchical sway of his son, Henry the Fourth, the court, as we have seen, was abandoned to unbounded license, and the whole nation sunk into a mental torpor from which it was roused only by the tumults of civil war. In this deplorable state of things, the few blossoms of literature which had begun to open under the benign influence of the preceding reign were speedily trampled under foot, and every vestige of civilization seemed in a fair way to be effaced from the land.

The first years of Ferdinand and Isabella's government were too much clouded by civil dissensions to afford a much more cheering prospect. Ferdinand's early education, moreover, had been greatly neglected. Before the age of ten, he was called to take part in the Catalan wars. His boyhood was spent among soldiers, in camps instead of schools, and the wisdom which he so eminently displayed in later life was drawn far more from his own resources than from books.[1]

Isabella was reared under more favorable auspices; at least more favorable to mental culture. She was allowed to pass her youth in retirement, and indeed oblivion, as far as the world was concerned, under her mother's care, at Arevalo. In this modest seclusion, free from the engrossing vanities and vexations of court life, she had full leisure to indulge the habits of study and reflec-

[1] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 153.

tion to which her temper naturally disposed her. She was acquainted with several modern languages,* and both wrote and discoursed in her own with great precision and elegance. No great expense or solicitude, however, appears to have been lavished on her education. She was uninstructed in the Latin, which in that day was of greater importance than at present; since it was not only the common medium of communication between learned men, and the language in which the most familiar treatises were often composed, but was frequently used by well-educated foreigners at court, and especially employed in diplomatic intercourse and negotiation.[2]

Isabella resolved to repair the defects of education, by devoting herself to the acquisition of the Latin tongue, so soon as the distracting wars with Portugal which attended her accession were terminated. We have a letter from Pulgar, addressed to the queen soon after that event, in which he inquires concerning her progress, intimating his surprise that she can find time for study amidst her multitude of engrossing occupations, and expressing his confidence that she will acquire the Latin with the same facility with which she had already mastered other languages. The result justified his prediction; for "in less than a year,"

[2] L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 154, 182.

* [Bergenroth says that Ferdinand and Isabella, though they wrote Spanish well, "*seem* to have been unable to understand any other language." (Letters and Despatches, vol. i., introd., p. xxxv.) No evidence is adduced to support this conclusion—or conjecture; nor is any notice taken of the evidence by which, in Isabella's case, it is clearly refuted.—K.]

observes another contemporary, "her admirable genius enabled her to obtain a good knowledge of the Latin language, so that she could understand without much difficulty whatever was written or spoken in it." [3]

Isabella inherited the taste of her father, John the Second, for collecting books. She endowed the convent of San Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, at the time of its foundation, 1477, with a library consisting principally of manuscripts.[4] The Archives of Simancas contain catalogues of part of two separate collections belonging to her, whose

[3] Carro de las Doñas, lib. 2, cap. 62 et seq., apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 21.—Pulgar, Letras (Amstelodami, 1670), let. 11.—L. Marineo, Cosas memorables, fol. 182.—It is sufficient evidence of her familiarity with the Latin, that the letters addressed to her by her confessor seem to have been written in that language and the Castilian indifferently, exhibiting occasionally a curious patchwork in the alternate use of each in the same epistle. See Correspondencia epistolar, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 13.

[4] Previous to the introduction of printing, collections of books were necessarily very small and thinly scattered, owing to the extreme cost of manuscripts. The learned Saez has collected some curious particulars relative to this matter. The most copious library which he could find any account of in the middle of the fifteenth century was owned by the counts of Benavente, and contained not more than one hundred and twenty volumes. Many of these were duplicates; of Livy alone there were eight copies. The cathedral churches in Spain rented their books every year by auction to the highest bidders, whence they derived a considerable revenue. It would appear from a copy of Gratian's Canons, preserved in the Celestine monastery in Paris, that the copyist was engaged twenty-one months in transcribing that manuscript. At this rate, the production of four thousand copies by one hand would require nearly eight thousand years, a work now easily performed in less than four months. Such was the tardiness in multiplying copies before the invention of printing. Two thousand volumes may be produced now at a price which in those days would hardly have sufficed to purchase fifty. See Tratado de Monedas de Enrique III., apud Moratin, Obras, ed. de la Acad. (Madrid, 1830), tom. i. pp. 91, 92. But does not Moratin draw his conclusions from extreme cases?

broken remains have contributed to swell the magnificent library of the Escurial. Most of them are in manuscript; the richly-colored and highly-decorated binding of these volumes (an art which the Spaniards derived from the Arabs) shows how highly they were prized, and the worn and battered condition of some of them proves that they were not kept merely for show.[5]

The queen manifested the most earnest solicitude for the instruction of her own children. Her daughters were endowed by nature with amiable dispositions, that seconded her maternal efforts. The most competent masters, native and foreign, especially from Italy, then so active in the revival of ancient learning, were employed in their tuition. This was particularly intrusted to two brothers, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino, natives of that country. Both were conspicuous for their abilities and classical erudition, and the latter, who survived his brother Antonio, was subsequently raised to high ecclesiastical prefer-

[5] Navagiero, Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia (Vinegia, 1563), fol. 23.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 17.—The larger collection comprised about two hundred and one articles, or distinct works. Of these, about a third is taken up with theology, comprehending Bibles, psalters, missals, lives of saints, and works of the Fathers; one-fifth, civil law and the municipal code of Spain; one-fourth, ancient classics, modern literature, and romances of chivalry; one-tenth, history; the residue is devoted to ethics, medicine, grammar, astrology, etc. The only Italian author, besides Leonardo Bruno d'Arezzo, is Boccaccio. The works of the latter writer consisted of the "Fiammetta," the treatises "De Casibus Illustrium Virorum," and "De Claris Mulieribus," and probably the "Decameron;" the first in the Italian, and the three last translated into the Spanish. It is singular that neither of Boccaccio's great contemporaries, Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom had been translated by Villena, and imitated by Juan de Mena, half a century before, should have found a place in the collection.

ments.[6] Under these masters, the infantas made attainments rarely permitted to the sex, and acquired such familiarity with the Latin tongue especially as excited lively admiration among those over whom they were called to preside in riper years.[7]

A still deeper anxiety was shown in the education of her only son, Prince John, heir of the united Spanish monarchies. Every precaution was taken to train him up in a manner that might tend to the formation of a character suited to his

[6] Antonio, the eldest, died in 1488. Part of his Latin poetical works, entitled "Sacred Bucolics," was printed in 1505, at Salamanca. The younger brother, Alessandro, after bearing arms in the Portuguese war, was subsequently employed in the instruction of the infantas, finally embraced the ecclesiastical state, and died bishop of St. Domingo, in 1525. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.—Tiraboschi, Letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. part. 2, p. 285.

[7] The learned Valencian, Luis Vives, in his treatise "De Christianâ Feminâ," remarks, "Ætas nostra quatuor illas Isabellæ reginæ filias, quas paullo ante memoravi, eruditas vidit. Non sine laudibus et admiratione refertur mihi passim in hac terrâ Joannam, Philippi conjugem, Caroli hujus matrem, ex tempore latinis orationibus, quæ de more apud novos principes oppidatim habentur, latine respondisse. Idem de reginâ suâ, Joannæ sorore, Britanni prædicant; idem omnes de duabus aliis, quæ in Lusitaniâ fato concessere." (De Christianâ Feminâ, cap. 4, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.)—It appears, however, that Isabella was not inattentive to the more humble accomplishments, in the education of her daughters. "Regina," says the same author, "nere, suere, acu pingere quatuor filias suas doctas esse voluit." Another contemporary, the author of the Carro de las Doñas (lib. 2, cap. 62, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Ilust. 21), says, "She educated her son and daughters, giving them masters of life and letters, and surrounding them with such persons as tended to make them vessels of election, and kings in heaven." Erasmus notices the literary attainments of the youngest daughter of the sovereigns, the unfortunate Catharine of Aragon, with unqualified admiration. In one of his letters he styles her "egregie doctam;" and in another he remarks, "Regina nor tantum in sexus miraculum literata est; nec minus pietate suspicienda, quam eruditione." Epistolæ (Londini, 1642), lib. 19, epist. 31; lib. 2, epist. 24.

exalted station. He was placed in a class consisting of ten youths, selected from the sons of the principal nobility. Five of them were of his own age, and five of riper years, and they were all brought to reside with him in the palace. By this means it was hoped to combine the advantages of public with those of private education; which last, from its solitary character, necessarily excludes the subject of it from the wholesome influence exerted by bringing the powers into daily collision with antagonists of a similar age.[8]

A mimic council was also formed on the model of a council of state, composed of suitable persons of more advanced standing, whose province it was to deliberate on, and to discuss, topics connected with government and public policy. Over this body the prince presided, and here he was initiated into a practical acquaintance with the important duties which were to devolve on him at a future period of life. The pages in attendance on his person were also selected with great care from the cavaliers and young nobility of the court, many of whom afterwards filled with credit the most considerable posts in the state. The severer discipline of the prince was relieved by attention to more light and elegant accomplishments. He devoted many of his leisure hours to music, for which he had a fine natural taste, and in which he attained sufficient proficiency to perform with skill on a variety of instruments. In short, his education was happily designed to produce that com-

[8] Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Deza.—Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 14.

bination of mental and moral excellence which should fit him for reigning over his subjects with benevolence and wisdom. How well the scheme succeeded is abundantly attested by the commendations of contemporary writers, both at home and abroad, who enlarge on his fondness for letters and for the society of learned men, on his various attainments, and more especially his Latin scholarship, and above all on his disposition, so amiable as to give promise of the highest excellence in maturer life,—a promise, alas! most unfortunately for his own nation, destined never to be realized.[9]

Next to her family, there was no object which the queen had so much at heart as the improvement of the young nobility. During the troubled reign of her predecessor they had abandoned themselves to frivolous pleasure, or to a sullen apathy from which nothing was potent enough to arouse them but the voice of war.[10] She was obliged to relinquish her plans of amelioration during the all-engrossing struggle with Granada, when it would have been esteemed a reproach for a Spanish knight to have exchanged the post of

[9] Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 14.—Juan de la Encina, in the dedication to the prince of his translation of Virgil's Bucolics, pays the following compliment to the enlightened and liberal taste of Prince John: "Favoresceis tanto la sciencia andando acompañado de tantos e tan doctísimos varones, que no menos dejareis perdurable memoria de haber alargado e estendido los límites e términos de la sciencia que los del imperio." The extraordinary promise of this young prince made his name known in distant parts of Europe, and his untimely death, which occurred in the twentieth year of his age, was commemorated by an epitaph of the learned Greek exile, Constantine Lascaris.

[10] "Aficionados á la guerra," says Oviedo, speaking of some young nobles of his time, "*por su Española y natural inclinacion.*" Quincuagenas, MS., bat. i, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

danger in the field for the effeminate pursuit of letters. But no sooner was the war brought to a close than Isabella resumed her purpose. She requested the learned Peter Martyr, who had come into Spain with the count of Tendilla a few years previous, to repair to the court and open a school * there for the instruction of the young nobility.[11] In an epistle addressed by Martyr to Cardinal Mendoza, dated at Granada, April, 1492, he alludes to the promise of a liberal recompense from the queen if he would assist in reclaiming the young cavaliers of the court from the idle and unprofitable pursuits in which, to her great mortification, they consumed their hours. The prejudices to be encountered seem to have filled him with natural distrust of his success; for he remarks, "Like their ancestors, they hold the pursuit of letters in light estimation, considering them an obstacle to success in the profession of arms, which alone they esteem worthy of honor." He, however, expresses his confidence that the generous nature of the Spaniards will make it easy to infuse into them a more liberal taste; and in a subsequent letter he enlarges on the "good effects likely to result from the literary ambition exhibited by the heir apparent, on whom the eyes of the nation were naturally turned."[12]

[11] For some account of this eminent Italian scholar, see the postscript to Part. I. chap. 14, of this History.

[12] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 102, 103.—Lucio Marineo, in a discourse addressed to Charles V., thus notices the queen's solicitude

* [Possibly Isabella may have learned somewhat concerning the famous court school which Charlemagne had cherished at Aachen six centuries before.—M.]

Martyr, in obedience to the royal summons, instantly repaired to court, and in the month of September following we have a letter dated from Saragossa, in which he thus speaks of his success: "My house, all day long, swarms with noble youths, who, reclaimed from ignoble pursuits to those of letters, are now convinced that these, so far from being a hindrance, are rather a help in the profession of arms. I earnestly inculcate on them that consummate excellence in any department, whether of war or peace, is unattainable without science. It has pleased our royal mistress, the pattern of every exalted virtue, that her own near kinsman, the duke of Guimaraens, as well as the young duke of Villahermosa, the king's nephew, should remain under my roof during the whole day; an example which has been imitated by the principal cavaliers of the court, who, after attending my lectures in company with their private tutors, retire at evening to review them with these latter in their own quarters." [13]

Another Italian scholar, often cited as authority in the preceding portion of this work, Lucio Marineo Siculo, co-operated with Martyr in the introduction of a more liberal scholarship among the Castilian nobles. He was born at Bedino, in

for the instruction of her young nobility: "Isabella præsertim Regina magnanima, virtutum omnium maxima cultrix.. Quæ quidem multis et magnis occupata negotiis, ut aliis exemplum præberet, a primis grammaticæ rudimentis studere cœpit, et omnes suæ domûs adolescentes utriusque sexûs nobilium liberos, præceptoribus liberaliter et honorifice conductis erudiendos commendabat." Mem de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Apend. 16.—See also Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

[13] Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 115.

Sicily, and, after completing his studies at Rome under the celebrated Pomponio Leto, opened a school in his native island, where he continued to teach for five years. He was then induced to visit Spain, in 1486, with the admiral Henriquez, and soon took his place among the professors of Salamanca, where he filled the chairs of poetry and grammar with great applause for twelve years. He was subsequently transferred to the court, which he helped to illumine by his exposition of the ancient classics, particularly the Latin.[14] Under the auspices of these and other eminent scholars, both native and foreign, the young nobility of Castile shook off the indolence in which they had so long rusted, and applied with generous ardor to the cultivation of science; so that, in the

[14] A particular account of Marineo's writings may be found in Nic. Antonio. (Bibliotheca Nova, tom. ii., Apend. p. 369.) The most important of these is his work "De Rebus Hispaniæ Memorabilibus," often cited, in the Castilian, in this History. It is a rich repository of details respecting the geography, statistics, and manners of the Peninsula, with a copious historical notice of events in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The author's insatiable curiosity, during a long residence in the country, enabled him to collect many facts of a kind that do not fall within the ordinary compass of history; while his extensive learning, and his familiarity with foreign models, peculiarly qualified him for estimating the institutions he describes. It must be confessed he is sufficiently partial to the land of his adoption. The edition referred to in this work is in black letter, printed before, or soon after, the author's death (the date of which is uncertain), in 1539, at Alcalá de Henares, by Juan Brocar, one of a family long celebrated in the annals of Castilian printing. Marineo's prologue concludes with the following noble tribute to letters: "Porque todos los otros bienes son subjectos a la fortuna y mudables y en poco tiempo mudan muchos dueños passando de unos señores en otros, mas los dones de letras y hystorias que se ofrescen para perpetuidad de memoria y fama son immortales y prorogan y guardan para siempre la memoria assi de los que los reciben, como de los ofrescen."

language of a contemporary, " while it was a most rare occurrence to meet with a person of illustrious birth, before the present reign, who had even studied Latin in his youth, there were now to be seen numbers every day who sought to shed the lustre of letters over the martial glory inherited from their ancestors." [15]

The extent of this generous emulation may be gathered from the large correspondence both of Martyr and Marineo with their disciples, including the most considerable persons of the Castilian court; it may be still further inferred from the numerous dedications to these persons of contemporary publications, attesting their munificent patronage of literary enterprise; [16] and still more unequivocally from the zeal with which many of the highest rank entered on such severe literary labor as few, from the mere love of letters, are found willing to encounter. Don Gutierre de Toledo, son of the duke of Alva, and a cousin of the king, taught in the university of Salamanca.

[15] Sepulveda, Democrites, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.—Signorelli, Coltura nelle Sicilie, tom. iv. p. 318.—Tiraboschi, Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. part. 3, lib. 3, cap. 4.—Comp. Lampillas, Saggio storico-apologetico de la Letteratura Spagnuola (Genova, 1778), tom. ii. dis. 2, sec. 5.—The patriotic abate is greatly scandalized by the degree of influence which Tiraboschi and other Italian critics ascribe to their own language over the Castilian, especially at this period. The seven volumes in which he has discharged his bile on the heads of the offenders afford valuable materials for the historian of Spanish literature. Tiraboschi must be admitted to have the better of his antagonist in temper, if not in argument.

[16] Among these we find copious translations from the ancient classics, as Cæsar, Appian, Plutarch, Plautus, Sallust, Æsop, Justin, Boëthius, Apuleius, Herodian, affording strong evidence of the activity of the Castilian scholars in this department. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. pp. 406, 407.—Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 133, 139.

At the same place, Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, son of the count of Haro, who subsequently succeeded his father in the hereditary dignity of grand constable of Castile, read lectures on Pliny and Ovid. Don Alfonso de Manrique, son of the count of Paredes, was professor of Greek in the university of Alcalá. All ages seemed to catch the generous enthusiasm; and the marquis of Denia, although turned of sixty, made amends for the sins of his youth, by learning the elements of the Latin tongue at this late period. In short, as Giovio remarks in his eulogium on Lebrija, "No Spaniard was accounted noble who held science in indifference." From a very early period, a courtly stamp was impressed on the poetic literature of Spain. A similar character was now imparted to its erudition; and men of the most illustrious birth seemed eager to lead the way in the difficult career of science, which was thrown open to the nation.[17]

In this brilliant exhibition those of the other sex must not be omitted, who contributed by their intellectual endowments to the general illumination of the period. Among them, the writers of that day lavish their panegyrics on the marchioness of Monteagudo, and Doña Maria Pacheco, of the ancient house of Mendoza, sisters of the historian

[17] Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades, cap. 21.—Lucio Marineo Siculo, in his discourse above alluded to, in which he exhibits the condition of letters under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, enumerates the names of the nobility most conspicuous for their scholarship. This valuable document was to be found only in the edition of Marineo's work, "De Rebus Hispaniæ Memorabilibus," printed at Alcalá in 1630, whence it has been transferred by Clemencin to the sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History.

Don Diego Hurtado,[18] and daughters of the accomplished count of Tendilla,[19] who, while ambassador at Rome, induced Martyr to visit Spain, and who was grandson of the famous marquis of Santillana, and nephew of the grand cardinal.[20] This illustrious family, rendered yet more illustrious by its merits than its birth, is worthy of specification, as affording altogether the most remarkable combination of literary talent in the enlightened court of Castile.* The queen's in-

[18] His work "Guerra de Granada" was first published at Madrid, in 1610, and "may be compared," says Nic. Antonio, in a judgment which has been ratified by the general consent of his countrymen, "with the compositions of Sallust or any other ancient historian." His poetry and his celebrated *picaresco* novel, "Lazarillo de Tormes," have made an epoch in the ornamental literature of Spain.

[19] Oviedo has devoted one of his dialogues to this nobleman, equally distinguished by his successes in arms, letters, and love; the last of which, according to that writer, he had not entirely resigned at the age of seventy.—Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

[20] For an account of Santillana, see the first chapter of this History. The cardinal, in early life, is said to have translated for his father the Æneid, the Odyssey, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, and Sallust. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.) This herculean feat would put modern schoolboys to shame; and we may suppose that partial versions only of these authors are intended.

* [The Renaissance dawned much earlier and much more gloriously in Spain than in England. It was not until 1548 that Roger Ascham was appointed to instruct the English Elizabeth, *half-sister of the granddaughter of Isabella.* While we may agree with Rashdall that there is "a high probability that the university of Oxford owes its origin to the quarrel of Becket with Henry II., yet we must admit that the university of Salamanca antedated the foundation of University College," the oldest college in the English university. This college may date from the "Great Dispersion" of the university of Paris, in 1229. Certain it is that William of Durham, who left Paris in 1229, bequeathed the sum of three hundred and ten marks to the university of Oxford when he died, in 1249. The first attempt to found a university in Salamanca was made by Alfonso IX. of Leon, who died in 1230. His attempt may possibly have been due to the "Great Dispersion." In 1242 Ferdinand III. of Castile was more

structor in the Latin language was a lady named Doña Beatriz de Galindo, called from her peculiar attainments *la Latina*. Another lady, Doña Lucia de Medrano, publicly lectured on the Latin classics in the university of Salamanca; and another, Doña Francisca de Lebrija, daughter of the historian of that name, filled the chair of rhetoric with applause at Alcalá. But our limits will not allow a further enumeration of names, which should never be permitted to sink into oblivion, were it only for the rare scholarship, peculiarly rare in the female sex, which they displayed in an age comparatively unenlightened.[21] Female edu-

[21] Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Grizio.—Señor Clemencin has examined with much care the intellectual culture of the nation under Isabella, in the sixteenth *Ilustracion* of his work. He has touched lightly on its poetical character, considering, no doubt, that this had been sufficiently developed by other critics. His essay, however, is rich in information in regard to the scholarship and severer studies of the

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successful. More vestiges remain to show that this university owes its origin to the chapter school than can be found in the case of any other institution of learning in Europe. The university still has a chapel in the old cathedral. Its degrees are still conferred in the name of the king as well as of the pope. The Siete Partidas put forth by Alfonso the Wise for its guidance was the first educational code in Europe. It was the first university to give instruction, and degrees, in music. (This was in the thirteenth century; Oxford gave no degrees in music until the fifteenth.) It was at first simply a school of civil and canon law. Until 1315 no theology was taught there, probably because the popes desired that the university of Paris should be supreme in that branch of learning. In the fourteenth century it formed a close alliance with the pope. Yet in the next century it favored the theories of Columbus and Copernicus. It was always a "student" university, and was, in the sixteenth century, one of the largest in Europe. At the present time it has but few students. According to *Minerva*, the year-book of the universities of the world, it had as its faculty in 1903 ten professors of philosophic studies and twelve of jurisprudence, etc.—M.]

cation in that day embraced a wider compass of erudition, in reference to the ancient languages, than is common at present; a circumstance attributable, probably, to the poverty of modern literature at that time, and the new and general appetite excited by the revival of classical learning in Italy. I am not aware, however, that it was usual for learned ladies, in any other country than Spain, to take part in the public exercises of the gymnasium and deliver lectures from the chairs of the universities.* This peculiarity, which may be referred in part to the influence of the queen, who encouraged the love of study by her own example, as well as by personal attendance on the academic examinations, may have been also suggested by a similar usage, already noticed, among the Spanish Arabs.[22]

While the study of the ancient tongues came thus into fashion with persons of both sexes and of the highest rank, it was widely and most thoroughly cultivated by professed scholars. Men of

period. The reader who would pursue the inqury still further may find abundant materials in Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. lib. 10, cap. 13 et seq.—Idem, Bibliotheca Hispana Nova (Matriti, 1783–8), tom i. ii., passim.

[22] See Part I. chap. 8, of this History.

* [Trotula of Salerno (circ. 1059) was eminent as a teacher, writer, and practitioner of medicine. There were also other women doctors at Salerno. Denifle tells us that the daughters of a married professor in Paris (he may have been a widower) taught theology. Names of women also occur in the roll of the faculties of Bologna and Padua. (This well-known fact may possibly account for Shakspere's having made Portia a doctor from Padua.) Pleasing legends cluster around the learned ladies of Bologna. One of them was so passing fair that she was compelled to lecture behind a curtain in order that the susceptible youths who formed her audiences might not be too distracted by her personal charms!—M.]

letters, some of whom have been already noticed, were invited into Spain from Italy, the theatre at that time on which, from obvious local advantages, classical discovery was pursued with greatest ardor and success. To this country it was usual also for Spanish students to repair, in order to complete their discipline in classical literature, especially the Greek, as first taught on sound principles of criticism by the learned exiles from Constantinople. The most remarkable of the Spanish scholars who made this literary pilgrimage to Italy was Antonio de Lebrija, or Nebrissensis, as he is more frequently called from his Latin name.[23] After ten years passed at Bologna and other seminaries of repute, with particular attention to their interior discipline, he returned, in 1473, to his native land, richly laden with the stores of various erudition. He was invited to fill the Latin chair at Seville, whence he was successively transferred to Salamanca and Alcalá, both of which places he long continued to enlighten by his oral instruction and publications. The earliest of these was his *Introducciones Latinas,* the third edition of which was printed in 1485, being four years only from the date of the first; a remarkable evidence of the growing taste for classical learning. A translation in the vernacular accompanied the last edition, arranged, at the queen's suggestion, in columns parallel with those of the original text; a form which, since become common, was then a novelty.[24]

[23] For a notice of this scholar, see the postscript to Part I. chap. 11, of this History.

[24] Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 271, 272.—In the second edition, published in 1482, the author states that no work of the time

The publication of his Castilian grammar, "*Grammatica Castillana*," followed in 1492; a treatise designed particularly for the instruction of the ladies of the court. The other productions of this indefatigable scholar embrace a large circle of topics, independently of his various treatises on philology and criticism. Some were translated into French and Italian, and their republication was continued to the last century. No man of his own or of later times contribtued more essentially than Lebrija to the introduction of a pure and healthful erudition into Spain. It is not too much to say that there was scarcely an eminent Spanish scholar in the beginning of the sixteenth century who had not formed himself on the instructions of this master.[25]

Another name worthy of commemoration is that of Arias Barbosa, a learned Portuguese, who, after passing some years, like Lebrija, in the schools of Italy, where he studied the ancient

had a greater circulation, more than a thousand copies of it having been disposed of, at a high price, in the preceding year. Ibid., p. 237.

[25] Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. pp. 132–139.—Lampillas, Letteratura Spagnuola, tom. ii. dis. 2, sec. 3.—Diálogo de las Lenguas, apud Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes (Madrid, 1737), tom. ii. pp. 46, 47.—Lucio Marineo pays the following elegant compliment to this learned Spaniard, in his discourse before quoted: "Amisit nuper Hispania maximum sui cultorem in re litterariâ, Antonium Nebrissensem, qui primus ex Italiâ in Hispaniam Musas adduxit, quibuscum barbariem ex suâ patriâ fugavit, et Hispaniam totam linguæ Latinæ lectionibus illustravit." "Meruerat id," says Gomez de Castro of Lebrija, "et multo majora hominis eruditio, cui Hispania debet, quicquid habet bonarum literarum." The acute author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas," while he renders ample homage to Lebrija's Latin erudition, disputes his critical acquaintance with his own language, from his being a native of Andalusia, where the Castilian was not spoken with purity: "Hablaba y escrivia como en el Andalucia y no como en la Castilla," p. 92. See also pp. 9, 10, 46, 53.

tongues under the guidance of Politiano, was induced to establish his residence in Spain. In 1489 we find him at Salamanca, where he continued for twenty, or, according to some accounts, forty, years, teaching in the departments of Greek and rhetoric. At the close of that period he returned to Portugal, where he superintended the education of some of the members of the royal family, and survived to a good old age. Barbosa was esteemed inferior to Lebrija in extent of various erudition, but as having surpassed him in an accurate knowledge of the Greek, and poetical criticism. In the former, indeed, he seems to have obtained a greater repute than any Spanish scholar of the time. He composed some valuable works, especially on ancient prosody. The unwearied assiduity and complete success of his academic labors have secured to him a high reputation among the restorers of ancient learning, and especially that of reviving a livelier relish for the study of the Greek, by conducting it on principles of pure criticism, in the same manner as Lebrija did with the Latin.[26]

The scope of the present work precludes the possibility of a copious enumeration of the pioneers of ancient learning, to whom Spain owes so large a debt of gratitude.[27] The Castilian scholars

[26] Barbosa, Bibliotheca Lusitana (Lisboa occidental, 1741), tom. i. pp. 76–78.—Signorelli, Coltura nelle Sicilie, tom. iv. pp. 315–321.—Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes, tom. i. p. 173.—Lampillas, Letteratura Spagnuola, tom. ii. dis. 2, sec. 5.—Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. pp. 170, 171.

[27] Among these are particularly deserving of attention the brothers John and Francis Vergara, professors at Alcalá, the latter of whom was esteemed one of the most accomplished scholars of the age;

of the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century may take rank with their illustrious contemporaries of Italy. They could not, indeed, achieve such brilliant results in the discovery of the remains of antiquity, for such remains had been long scattered and lost amid the centuries of exile and disastrous warfare consequent on the Saracen invasion. But they were unwearied in their illustrations, both oral and written, of the ancient authors; and their numerous commentaries, translations, dictionaries, grammars, and various works of criticism, many of which, though now obsolete, passed into repeated editions in their own day, bear ample testimony to the generous zeal with which they conspired to raise their contemporaries to a proper level for contemplating the works of the great masters of antiquity, and well entitled them to the high eulogium of Erasmus, that "liberal studies were brought, in the course of a few years, in Spain to so flour-

Nuñez de Guzman, of the ancient house of that name, professor for many years at Salamanca and Alcalá, and the author of the Latin version in the famous Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes; he left behind him numerous works, especially commentaries on the classics; Olivario, whose curious erudition was abundantly exhibited in his illustrations of Cicero and other Latin authors; and, lastly, Vives, whose fame belongs rather to Europe than his own country, and who, when only twenty-six years old, drew from Erasmus the encomium that "there was scarcely any one of the age whom he could venture to compare with him in philosophy, eloquence, and liberal learning." But the most unequivocal testimony to the deep and various scholarship of the period is afforded by that stupendous literary work of Cardinal Ximenes, the Polyglot Bible, whose versions in the Greek, Latin, and Oriental tongues were collated, with a single exception, by Spanish scholars. Erasmus, Epistolæ, lib. 19, epist. 101.—Lampillas, Letteratura Spagnuola, tom. ii. pp. 382–384, 495, 792–794; tom. ii. p. 208 et seq.—Gomez, De Rebus gestis, fol. 37.

ishing a condition as might not only excite the admiration, but serve as a model to the most cultivated nations of Europe." [28]

The Spanish universities were the theatre on which this classical erudition was more especially displayed. Previous to Isabella's reign, there were but few schools in the kingdom; not one, indeed, of any note, except in Salamanca; and this did not escape the blight which fell on every generous study. But under the cheering patronage of the present government they were soon filled, and widely multiplied. Academies of repute were to be found in Seville, Toledo, Salamanca, Granada, and Alcalá; and learned teachers were drawn from abroad by the most liberal emoluments. At the head of these establishments stood " the illustrious city of Salamanca," as Marineo fondly terms it, " mother of all liberal arts and virtues, alike renowned for noble cavaliers and learned men." [29] Such was its reputation that foreigners as well as natives were attracted to its schools, and at one time, according to the authority of the same professor, seven thousand students were assembled within its walls. A letter of Peter Martyr to his patron the count of Tendilla gives a whimsical picture of the literary enthusiasm of this place. The throng was so great to hear his introductory lecture on one of the Satires of Juvenal

[28] Erasmus, Epistolæ, p. 977.

[29] " La muy esclarecida ciudad de Salamanca, madre de las artes liberales, y todas virtudes, y ansi de cavalleros como de letrados varones, muy ilustre." Cosas memorables, fol. 11.—Chacon, Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca, apud Semanario erudito, tom. xviii. pp. 1–61.

that every avenue to the hall was blockaded, and the professor was borne in on the shoulders of the students. Professorships in every department of science then studied, as well as of polite letters, were established at the university, the "new Athens," as Martyr somewhere styles it. Before the close of Isabella's reign, however, its glories were rivalled, if not eclipsed, by those of Alcalá;[30] which combined higher advantages for ecclesiastical with civil education, and which, under the splendid patronage of Cardinal Ximenes, executed the famous Polyglot version of the Scriptures, the most stupendous literary enterprise of that age.[31]

This active cultivation was not confined to the dead languages, but spread more or less over every department of knowledge. Theological science, in particular, received a large share of attention. It had always formed a principal object of academic instruction, though suffered to languish under the universal corruption of the preceding reign. It was so common for the clergy to be

[30] "Academia Complutensis," says Erasmus of this university, "non aliunde celebritatem nominis auspicata est quàm a complectendo linguas ac bonas literas. Cujus præcipuum ornamentum est egregius ille senex, planéque dignus, qui multos vincat Nestoras, Antonius Nebrissensis." Epist. ad Ludovicum Vivem, 1521, Epistolæ, p. 755.

[31] Cosas memorables, ubi supra.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 57.—Gomez, De Rebus gestis, lib. 4.—Chacon, Universidad de Salamanca, ubi supra.—It appears that the practice of scraping with the feet as an expression of disapprobation, familiar in our universities, is of venerable antiquity; for Martyr mentions that he was saluted with it before finishing his discourse by one or two idle youths, dissatisfied with its length. The lecturer, however, seems to have given general satisfaction, for he was escorted back in triumph to his lodgings, to use his own language, "like a victor in the Olympic games," after the conclusion of the exercise.

ignorant of the most elementary knowledge, that the council of Aranda found it necessary to pass an ordinance, the year before Isabella's accession, that no person should be admitted to orders who was ignorant of Latin. The queen took the most effectual means for correcting this abuse, by raising only competent persons to ecclesiastical dignities. The highest stations in the church were reserved for those who combined the highest intellectual endowments with unblemished piety. Cardinal Mendoza, whose acute and comprehensive mind entered with interest into every scheme for the promotion of science, was archbishop of Toledo; Talavera, whose hospitable mansion was itself an academy for men of letters, and whose princely revenues were liberally dispensed for their support, was raised to the see of Granada; and Ximenes, whose splendid literary projects will require more particular notice hereafter, succeeded Mendoza in the primacy of Spain. Under the protection of these enlightened patrons, theological studies were pursued with ardor, the Scriptures copiously illustrated, and sacred eloquence cultivated with success.

A similar impulse was felt in the other walks of science. Jurisprudence assumed a new aspect, under the learned labors of Montalvo.[32] The mathematics formed a principal branch of education, and were successfully applied to astronomy and geography. Valuable treatises were produced on medicine, and on the more familiar practical

[32] For some remarks on the labors of this distinguished jurisconsult, see Part I. chap. 6, and Part II. chap. 26, of the present work.

arts, as husbandry, for example.[33] History, which since the time of Alfonso the Tenth had been held in higher honor and more widely cultivated in Castile than in any other European state, began to lay aside the garb of chronicle and to be studied on more scientific principles. Charters and diplomas were consulted, manuscripts collated, coins and lapidary inscriptions deciphered, and collections made of these materials, the true basis of authentic history; and an office of public archives, like that now existing at Simancas, was established at Burgos, and placed under the care of Alonso de Mota, as keeper, with a liberal salary.[34]

Nothing could have been more opportune for the enlightened purposes of Isabella than the introduction of the art of printing into Spain at the commencement, indeed in the very first year, of her reign. She saw, from the first moment, all the advantages which it promised for diffusing and perpetuating the discoveries of science. She encouraged its establishment, by large privileges to those who exercised it, whether natives or foreigners, and by causing many of the works composed by her subjects to be printed at her own charge.[35]

Among the earlier printers we frequently find

[33] The most remarkable of these latter is Herrera's treatise on Agriculture, which, since its publication in Toledo in 1520, has passed through a variety of editions at home and translations abroad. Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. p. 503.

[34] This collection, with the ill luck which has too often befallen such repositories in Spain, was burnt in the war of the Communities, in the time of Charles V. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.—Morales, Obras, tom. vii. p. 18.—Informe de Riol, who particularly notices the solicitude of Ferdinand and Isabella for preserving the public documents.

[35] Mendez, Typographia Española, p. 51.

the names of Germans,—a people who to the original merits of the discovery may justly add that of its propagation among every nation of Europe. We meet with a *pragmática,* or royal ordinance, dated in 1477, exempting a German, named Theodoric, from taxation, on the ground of being "one of the principal persons in the discovery and practice of the art of printing books, which he had brought with him into Spain at great risk and expense, with the design of ennobling the libraries of the kingdom." [36] Monopolies for printing and selling books for a limited period, answering to the modern copyright, were granted to certain persons in consideration of their doing so at a reasonable rate.[37] It seems to have been usual for the printers to be also the publishers and venders of books. These exclusive privileges, however, do not appear to have been carried to a mischievous extent. Foreign books, of every description, by a law of 1480, were allowed to be imported into the kingdom free of all duty whatever; an enlightened provision, which might furnish a useful hint to legislators of the nineteenth century.[38] *

[36] Archivo de Murcia, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 244.

[37] Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 52, 332.

[38] Ordenanças Reales, lib. 4, tit. 4, ley 22.—The preamble of this statute is expressed in the following enlightened terms: "Considerando los Reyes de gloriosa memoria quanto era provechoso y honroso, que a estos sus reynos se truxessen libros de otras partes para que con ellos se hiziessen los hombres letrados, quisieron y ordenaron, que de los libros no se pagasse el alcavala. . . . Lo qual parece que redunda en provecho universal de todos, y en ennoblecimiento de nuestros Reynos."

* [And also to those who sit in the halls of the United States Congress in the first years of the twentieth century!—M.]

The first press appears to have been erected at Valencia, in 1474; although the glory of precedence is stoutly contested by several places, and especially by Barcelona.[39] The first work printed was a collection of songs composed for a poetical contest in honor of the Virgin, for the most part in the Limousin or Valencian dialect.[40] In the following year the first ancient classic, being the work of Sallust, was printed; and in 1478 there appeared from the same press a translation of the Scriptures in the Limousin, by father Boniface Ferrer, brother of the famous Dominican, St. Vincent Ferrer.[41] Through the liberal patronage of the government, the art was widely diffused; and before the end of the fifteenth century presses were established and in active operation in the principal cities of the united kingdom; in Toledo, Seville, Ciudad Real, Granada, Valladolid, Burgos, Salamanca, Zamora, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Monte Rey, Lerida, Murcia, Tolosa, Tarragona, Alcalá de Henares, and Madrid.

It is painful to notice amidst the judicious provisions for the encouragement of science, one so

[39] Capmany, Mem. de Barcelona, tom. i. part. 2, lib. 2, cap. 6.—Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 55, 93.—Bouterwek intimates that the art of printing was first practised in Spain by German printers at Seville, *in the beginning of the sixteenth century.* (Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit (Göttingen, 1801–17), Band iii. S. 98.)—He appears to have been misled by a solitary example quoted from Mayans y Siscar. The want of materials has more than once led this eminent critic to build sweeping conclusions on slender premises.

[40] The title of the book is "Certamen poetich en lohor de la Concecio," Valencia, 1474, 4to. The name of the printer is wanting. Mendez, Typographia Española, p. 56.

[41] Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 61–63.

entirely repugnant to their spirit as the establishment of the censorship. By an ordinance dated at Toledo, July 8th, 1502, it was decreed that, "as many of the books sold in the kingdom were defective, or false, or apocryphal, or pregnant with vain and superstitious novelties, it was therefore ordered that no book should hereafter be printed without special license from the king, or some person regularly commissioned by him for the purpose." The names of the commissioners then follow, consisting mostly of ecclesiastics, archbishops and bishops, with authority respectively over their several dioceses.[42] This authority was devolved in later times, under Charles the Fifth and his successors, on the Council of the Supreme, over which the inquisitor-general presided *ex officio*. The immediate agents employed in the examination were also drawn from the Inquisition, who exercised this important trust, as is well known, in a manner most fatal to the interests of letters and humanity. Thus a provision destined in its origin for the advancement of science, by purifying it from the crudities and corruptions which naturally infect it in a primitive age, contributed more effectually to its discouragement than any other which could have been devised, by interdicting the freedom of expression so indispensable to freedom of inquiry.[43]

[42] Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 52, 53.—Pragmáticas del Reyno, fol. 138, 139.

[43] Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 13, art. 1.—"Adempto per *inquisitiones*," says Tacitus of the gloomy times of Domitian, "et loquendi audiendique commercio." (Vita Agricolæ, sect. 2.) Beaumarchais, in a merrier vein, indeed, makes the same

While endeavoring to do justice to the progress of civilization in this reign, I should regret to present to the reader an overcolored picture of its results. Indeed, less emphasis should be laid on any actual results than on the spirit of improvement which they imply in the nation, and the liberal dispositions of the government. The fifteenth century was distinguished by a zeal for research and laborious acquisition, especially in ancient literature, throughout Europe, which showed itself in Italy in the beginning of the age, and in Spain, and some other countries, towards the close. It was natural that men should explore the long-buried treasures which had descended from their ancestors, before venturing on any thing of their own creation. Their efforts were eminently successful; and, by opening an acquaintance with the immortal productions of ancient literature, they laid the best foundation for the cultivation of the modern.

In the sciences, their success was more equivocal. A blind reverence for authority, a habit of speculation instead of experiment,—so pernicious in physics,—in short, an ignorance of the true principles of philosophy, often led the scholars of that day in a wrong direction. Even when they took

bitter reflections: "Il s'est établi dans Madrid un système de liberté sur la vente des productions, qui s'étend même à celles de la presse; et que, pourvu que je ne parle en mes écrits ni de l'autorité, ni de culte, ni de la politique, ni de la morale, ni des gens en place, ni des corps en crédit, ni de l'Opéra, ni des autres spectacles, ni de personne qui tienne à quelque chose, je puis tout imprimer librement, sous l'inspection de deux ou trois censeurs." Mariage de Figaro, acte 5, sc. 3.

a right one, their attainments, under all these impediments, were necessarily so small as to be scarcely perceptible, when viewed from the brilliant heights to which science has arrived in our own age. Unfortunately for Spain, its subsequent advancement has been so retarded that a comparison of the fifteenth century with those which succeeded it is by no means so humiliating to the former as in some other countries of Europe; and it is certain that in general intellectual fermentation no period has surpassed, if it can be said to have rivalled, the age of Isabella.

CHAPTER XX

CASTILIAN LITERATURE—ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY —LYRICAL POETRY—THE DRAMA

This Reign an Epoch in Polite Letters—Romances of Chivalry—Ballads or *Romances*—Moorish Minstrelsy—"Cancionero general"—Its Literary Value—Rise of the Spanish Drama—Criticism on "Celestina"—Encina—Naharro—Low Condition of the Stage—National Spirit of the Literature of this Epoch

ORNAMENTAL or polite literature, which, emanating from the taste and sensibility of a nation, readily exhibits its various fluctuations of fashion and feeling, was stamped in Spain with the distinguishing characteristics of this revolutionary age. The Provençal, which reached such high perfection in Catalonia, and subsequently in Aragon, as noticed in an introductory chapter,[1] expired with the union of this monarchy with Castile, and the dialect ceased altogether to be applied to literary purposes after the Castilian became the language of the court in the united kingdoms. The poetry of Castile, which throughout the present reign continued to breathe the same patriotic spirit and to exhibit the same national peculiarities that had distinguished it from the time of the Cid, submitted soon after Ferdinand's death to the influence of the more polished Tuscan, and henceforth, losing somewhat of its distinctive physiog-

[1] Eichhorn, Geschichte der Kultur und Litteratur der neueren Europa (Göttingen, 1796–1811), pp. 129, 130.—See also the conclusion of the Introduction, Sec. 2, of this History.

nomy, assumed many of the prevalent features of continental literature. Thus the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella becomes an epoch as memorable in literary as in civil history.

The most copious vein of fancy, in that day, was turned in the direction of the prose romance of chivalry, now seldom disturbed, even in its own country, except by the antiquary. The circumstances of the age naturally led to its production. The romantic Moorish wars,—teeming with adventurous exploit and picturesque incident, carried on with the natural enemies of the Christian knight, and opening moreover all the legendary stores of Oriental fable,—the stirring adventures by sea as well as land, above all, the discovery of a world beyond the waters, whose unknown regions gave full scope to the play of the imagination, all contributed to stimulate the appetite for the incredible chimeras, the *magnanime menzogne,* of chivalry. The publication of "Amadis de Gaula" gave a decided impulse to this popular feeling. This romance, which seems now well ascertained to be the production of a Portuguese in the latter half of the fourteenth century,[2] was

[2] Nic. Antonio seems unwilling to relinquish the pretensions of his own nation to the authorship of this romance. (See Bibliotheca Nova, tom. ii. p. 394.) Later critics, and among them Lampillas (Ensayo histórico-apologético de la Literatura Española, tom. v. p. 168), who resigns no more than he is compelled to do, are less disposed to contest the claims of the Portuguese. Mr. Southey has cited two documents, one historical, the other poetical, which seem to place its composition by Lobeira in the latter part of the fourteenth century beyond any reasonable doubt. (See Amadis of Gaul, pref.,—also Sarmiento, Memorias para la Historia de la Poesía y Poetas Españoles, Obras posthumas (Madrid, 1775), tom. i. p. 239.) Bouterwek, and after him Sismondi, without adducing any authority,

first printed in a Spanish version, probably not far from 1490.[3] Its editor, Garci Ordoñez de Montalvo, states in his prologue that "he corrected it from the ancient originals, pruning it of all superfluous phrases, and substituting others of a more polished and elegant style."[4] How far its character was benefited by this work of purification may be doubted; although it is probable it did not suffer so much by such a process as it

have fixed the era of Lobeira's death at 1325. Dante, who died but four years previous to that date, furnishes a negative argument, at least, against this, since in his notice of some of the best names in chivalry then known, he makes no allusion to Amadis, the best of all. Cf. Inferno, cantos v., xxxi., xxxii.; also De Vulgari Eloquentiâ, cap. 10.

[3] The excellent old romance "Tirante the White," *Tirant lo Blanch,* was printed at Valencia in 1490. (See Mendez, Typographia Española, tom. i. pp. 72–75.) If, as Cervantes asserts, the "Amadis" was the first book of chivalry printed in Spain, it must have been anterior to this date. This is rendered probable by Montalvo's prologue to his edition at Saragossa, in 1521, still preserved in the royal library at Madrid, where he alludes to his former publication of it in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. (Cervantes, Don Quixote, ed. Pellicer, Discurso prelim.)—Mr. Dunlop, who has analyzed these romances with a patience that more will be disposed to commend than imitate, has been led into the error of supposing that the first edition of the "Amadis" was printed at Seville, in 1526, from detached fragments appearing in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, and subsequently by Montalvo, at Salamanca, in 1547. See History of Prose Fiction, vol. ii. chap. 10.

[4] The following is Montalvo's brief prologue to the introduction of the first book: "Aqvi comiença el primero libro del esforçado et virtuoso cauallero Amadis hijo del rey Perion de Gaula: y dela reyna Elisena: el qual fue coregido y emendado por el honrado y virtuoso cauallero Garciordoñes de Montalvo, regidor dela noble uilla de Medina del campo; et corregiolo delos antiguos originales que estauan corruptos, et compuestos en antiguo estilo: por falta delos diferentes escriptores. Quitando muchas palabras superfluas: et poniendo otras de mas polido y elegante estilo: tocantes ala caualleria et actos della, animando los coraçones gentiles de manzebos belicosos que con grandissimo affetto abrazan el arte dela milicia corporal animando la immortal memoria del arte de caualleria no menos honestissimo que glorioso." Amadis de Gaula (Venecia, 1533), fol. 1.

would have done in a later and more cultivated period. The simple beauties of this fine old romance, its bustling incidents, relieved by the delicate play of Oriental machinery, its general truth of portraiture, above all, the knightly character of the hero, who graced the prowess of chivalry with a courtesy, modesty, and fidelity unrivalled in the creations of romance, soon recommended it to popular favor and imitation. A continuation, bearing the title of "Las Sergas de Esplandian," was given to the world by Montalvo himself, and grafted on the original stock, as the fifth book of the Amadis, before 1510. A sixth, containing the adventures of his nephew, was printed at Salamanca in the course of the last-mentioned year; and thus the idle writers of the day continued to propagate dulness through a series of heavy tomes, amounting in all to four-and-twenty books, until the much-abused public would no longer suffer the name of Amadis to cloak the manifold sins of his posterity.[5] Other knights-errant were sent roving about the world at the same time, whose exploits would fill a library; but fortunately they have been permitted to pass into oblivion, from which a few of their names only have been rescued by

[5] Nic. Antonio enumerates the editions of thirteen of this doughty family of knights-errant. (Bibliotheca Nova, tom. ii. pp. 394, 395.) He dismisses his notice with the reflection, somewhat more charitable than that of Don Quixote's curate, that "he had felt little interest in investigating these fables, yet was willing to admit, with others, that their reading was not wholly useless." Moratin has collected an appalling catalogue of *part* of the books of chivalry published in Spain at the close of the fifteenth and in the following century. The first on the list is the *Carcel de Amor,* por Diego Hernandez de San Pedro, en Burgos año de 1496. Obras, tom. i. pp. 93–98.

the caustic criticism of the curate in Don Quixote; who, it will be remembered, after declaring that the virtues of the parent shall not avail his posterity, condemns them and their companions, with one or two exceptions only, to the fatal funeral pile.[6]

These romances of chivalry must have undoubtedly contributed to nourish those exaggerated sentiments which from a very early period entered into the Spanish character. Their evil influence, in a literary view, resulted less from their improbabilities of situation, which they possessed in common with the inimitable Italian epics, than from the false pictures which they presented of human character, familiarizing the eye of the reader with such models as debauched the taste and rendered him incapable of relishing the chaste and sober productions of art. It is remarkable that the chivalrous romance, which was so copiously cultivated through the greater part of the sixteenth century, should not have assumed the poetic form, as in Italy, and indeed among our Norman ancestors; and that in its prose dress no name of note appears to raise it to a high degree of literary merit. Per-

[6] Cervantes, Don Quixote, tom. i. part. 1, cap. 6.—The curate's wrath is very emphatically expressed: "Pues vayan todos al corral, dixo el Cura, que a trueco de quemar a la reyna Pintiquiniestra, y al pastor Darinel y a sus eglogas, y a las endiabladas y revueltas razones de su autor, quemara con ellos al padre que me engendro si andubiera en figura de caballero andante." The author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas" chimes in with the same tone of criticism. "Los quales," he says, speaking of books of chivalry, "de mas de ser mentirossissimos, son tal mal compuestos, assi por dezir las mentiras tan desvergonçadas, como por tener el estilo desbaraçado, que no ay buen estomago que lo pueda leer." Apud Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes, tom. ii. p. 158.

haps such a result might have been achieved, but for the sublime parody of Cervantes, which cut short the whole race of knights-errant, and, by the fine irony which it threw around the mock heroes of chivalry, extinguished them forever.[7]

The most popular poetry of this period, that springing from the body of the people, and most intimately addressed to it, is the ballads, or *romances,* as they are termed in Spain. These, indeed, were familiar to the Peninsula as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but in the present reign they received a fresh impulse from the war with Granada, and composed, under the name of the Moorish ballads, what may perhaps be regarded, without too high praise, as the most exquisite popular minstrelsy of any age or country.

The humble narrative lyrics making up the mass of ballad poetry, and forming the natural expression of a simple state of society, would seem to be most abundant in nations endowed with keen sensibilities, and placed in situations of excitement and powerful interest fitted to develop them. The light and lively French have little to boast of in

[7] The labors of Bowles, Rios, Arrieta, Pellicer, and Navarrete would seem to have left little to desire in regard to the illustration of Cervantes. But the commentaries of Clemencin, published since this chapter was written, in 1833, show how much yet remained to be supplied. They afford the most copious illustrations, both literary and historical, of his author, and exhibit that nice taste in verbal criticism which is not always joined with such extensive erudition. Unfortunately, the premature death of Clemencin has left the work unfinished; but the fragment completed, which reaches to the close of the First Part, is of sufficient value permanently to associate the name of its author with that of the greatest genius of his country.

this way.[8] The Italians, with a deeper poetic feeling, were too early absorbed in the gross business habits of trade, and their literature received too high a direction from its master spirits at its very commencement, to allow any considerable deviation in this track. The countries where it has most thriven are probably Great Britain and Spain. The English and the Scotch, whose constitutionally pensive and even melancholy temperament has been deepened by the sober complexion of the climate, were led to the cultivation of this poetry still further by the stirring scenes of feudal warfare in which they were engaged, especially along the borders. The Spaniards, to similar sources of excitement, added that of high religious feeling in their struggles with the Saracens, which gave a somewhat loftier character to their effusions. Fortunately for them, their early annals gave birth, in the Cid, to a hero whose personal renown was identified with that of his country, and round whose name might be concentrated all the scattered lights of song, thus enabling the nation to build up its poetry on the proudest historic recollections.[9] The feats of many other heroes, fabu-

[8] The fabliaux cannot fairly be considered as an exception to this. These graceful little performances, the work of professed bards, who had nothing further in view than the amusement of a listless audience, have little claim to be considered as the expression of national feeling or sentiment. The poetry of the south of France, more impassioned and lyrical in its character, wears the stamp not merely of patrician elegance, but refined artifice, which must not be confounded with the natural flow of popular minstrelsy.

[9] How far the achievements claimed for the Campeador are strictly true, is little to the purpose. It is enough that they were received as true, throughout the Peninsula, as far back as the twelfth, or at latest the thirteenth, century.

lous as well as real, were permitted to swell the stream of traditionary verse; and thus a body of poetical annals, springing up as it were from the depths of the people, was bequeathed from sire to son, contributing, perhaps, more powerfully than any real history could have done, to infuse a common principle of patriotism into the scattered members of the nation.

There is considerable resemblance between the early Spanish ballad and the British. The latter affords more situations of pathos and deep tenderness, particularly those of suffering, uncomplaining love, a favorite theme with old English poets of every description.[10] We do not find, either, in the ballads of the Peninsula, the wild, romantic adventures of the roving outlaw, of the Robin Hood genus, which enter so largely into English minstrelsy. The former are in general of a more sustained and chivalrous character, less gloomy, and, although fierce, not so ferocious, nor so decidedly tragical in their aspect, as the latter. The ballads of the Cid, however, have many points in common with the border poetry; the same free and cordial manner, the same love of military exploit, relieved by a certain tone of generous gallantry, and accompanied by a strong expression of national feeling.

[10] One exception, among others, readily occurs in the pathetic old ballad of the Conde Alarcos, whose woeful catastrophe, with the unresisting suffering of the countess, suggests many points of coincidence with the English minstrelsy. The English reader will find a version of it in the "Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain" from the pen of Mr. Bowring, to whom the literary world is so largely indebted for an acquaintance with the popular minstrelsy of Europe.

The resemblance between the minstrelsy of the two countries vanishes, however, as we approach the Moorish ballads. The Moorish wars had always afforded abundant themes of interest for the Castilian muse; but it was not till the fall of the capital that the very fountains of song were broken up, and those beautiful ballads were produced, which seem like the echoes of departed glory lingering round the ruins of Granada. Incompetent as these pieces may be as historical records, they are doubtless sufficiently true to manners.[11] They present a most remarkable combination of not merely the exterior form, but the noble spirit of European chivalry, with the gorgeousness and effeminate luxury of the East. They are brief, seizing single situations of the highest poetic interest, and striking the eye of the reader with a brilliancy of execution so artless in

[11] I have already noticed the insufficiency of the *romances* for authentic history, in Part I. chap. 8, note 31. My conclusions there have been confirmed by Mr. Irving (whose researches have led him in a similar direction) in his "Alhambra," published nearly a year after the above note was written. The great source of the popular misconceptions respecting the domestic history of Granada is Gines Perez de Hita, whose work, under the title of "Historia de los Vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrages, Cavalleros Moros de Granada, y las Guerras civiles que huvo en ella," was published at Alcalá in 1604. This romance, written in prose, embodied many of the old Moorish ballads, whose singular beauty, combined with the romantic and picturesque character of the work itself, soon made it extremely popular, until at length it seems to have acquired a degree of the historical credit claimed for it by its author as a translation from an Arabic chronicle; a credit which has stood it in good stead with the tribe of travel-mongers and *raconteurs,* persons always of easy faith, who have propagated its fables far and wide. Their credulity, however, may be pardoned in what has imposed on the perspicacity of so cautious an historian as Müller, Allgemeine Geschichte (1817), Band ii. S. 504.

appearance withal as to seem rather the effect of accident than study. We are transported to the gay seat of Moorish power, and witness the animating bustle, its pomp and its revelry, prolonged to the last hour of its existence. The bull-fight of the Vivarrambla, the graceful tilt of reeds, the amorous knights with their quaint significant devices, the dark Zegris, or Gomeres, and the royal, self-devoted Abencerrages, the Moorish maiden radiant at the tourney, the moonlight serenade, the stolen interview, where the lover gives vent to all the intoxication of passion in the burning language of Arabian metaphor and hyperbole,[12]— these, and a thousand similar scenes, are brought before the eye, by a succession of rapid and animated touches, like the lights and shadows of a landscape. The light trochaic structure of the *redondilla,*[13] as the Spanish ballad measure is

[12] Thus, in one of these *romances* we have a Moorish lady "shedding drops of liquid silver, and scattering her hair of Arabian gold," over the corpse of her murdered husband!

> "Sobre el cuerpo de Albencayde
> Destila liquida plata,
> Y convertida en cabellos
> Esparce el oro de Arabia."

Can any thing be more Oriental than this imagery? In another we have an "hour of years of impatient hopes;" a passionate sally, that can scarcely be outmatched by Scriblerus. This taint of exaggeration, however, far from being peculiar to the popular minstrelsy, has found its way, probably through this channel in part, into most of the poetry of the Peninsula.

[13] The *redondilla* may be considered as the basis of Spanish versification. It is of great antiquity, and compositions in it are still extant as old as the time of the infante Don Manuel, at the close of the thirteenth century. (See Cancionero general, fol. 207.) The *redondilla* admits of great variety; but in the *romances* it is most frequently found to consist of eight syllables, the last foot, and some or all of the preceding, as the case may be, being trochees. (Rengifo,

called, rolling on its graceful, negligent *asonante,*[14] whose continued repetition seems by its

Arte poética Española (Barcelona, 1727), cap. 9, 44.) Critics have derived this delightful measure from various sources. Sarmiento traces it to the hexameter of the ancient Romans, which may be bisected into something analogous to the redondillas. (Memorias, pp. 168–171.) Bouterwek thinks it may have been suggested by the songs of the Roman soldiery. (Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit, Band iii., Einleitung, p. 20.) Velazquez borrows it from the rhyming hexameters of the Spanish Latin poets, of which he gives specimens of the beginning of the fourteenth century. (Poesía Castellana, pp. 77, 78.) Later critics refer its derivation to the Arabic. Conde has given a translation of certain Spanish Arabian poems, in the measure of the original, from which it is evident that the hemistich of an Arabic verse corresponds perfectly with the redondilla. (See his Dominacion de los Arabes, passim.) The same author, in a treatise, which he never published, on the "poesía oriental," shows more precisely the intimate affinity subsisting between the metrical form of the Arabian and the old Castilian verse. The reader will find an analysis of his manuscript in Part I. chap. 8, note 50, of this History. This theory is rendered the more plausible by the influence which the Arabic has exercised on Castilian versification in other respects, as in the prolonged repetition of the rhyme, for example, which is wholly borrowed from the Spanish Arabs; whose superior cultivation naturally affected the unformed literature of their neighbors, and through no channel more obviously than its popular minstrelsy.

[14] The *asonante* is a rhyme made by uniformity of the vowels, without reference to the consonants; the regular rhyme, which obtains in other European literatures, is distinguished in Spain by the term *consonante.* Thus the four following words, taken at random from a Spanish ballad, are consecutive *asonantes: regozijo, pellico, luzido, amarillo.* In this example, the two last syllables have the assonance; although this is not invariable, it sometimes falling on the antepenultima and the final syllable. (See Rengifo, Arte poética Española, pp. 214, 215, 218.) There is a wild, artless melody in the *asonante,* and a graceful movement, coming somewhere, as it does, betwixt regular rhyme and blank verse, which would make its introduction very desirable, but not very feasible, in our own language. An attempt of the kind has been made by a clever writer in the Retrospective Review. (Vol. iv. art. 2.) If it has failed, it is from the impediments presented by the language, which has not nearly the same number of vowel terminations, nor of simple uniform vowel sounds, as the Spanish; the double termination, however full of grace and beauty in the Castilian, assumes, perhaps from the effect of association, rather a doggerel air in the English.

monotonous melody to prolong the note of feeling originally struck, is admirably suited by its flexibility to the most varied and opposite expression; a circumstance which has recommended it as the ordinary measure of dramatic dialogue.

Nothing can be more agreeable than the general effect of the Moorish ballads, which combine the elegance of a riper period of literature with the natural sweetness and simplicity, savoring sometimes even of the rudeness, of a primitive age. Their merits have raised them to a sort of classical dignity in Spain, and have led to their cultivation by a higher order of writers, and down to a far later period, than in any other country in Europe. The most successful specimens of this imitation may be assigned to the early part of the seventeenth century; but the age was too late to enable the artist, with all his skill, to seize the true coloring of the antique. It is impossible, at this period, to ascertain the authors of these venerable lyrics, nor can the exact time of their production be now determined; although, as their subjects are chiefly taken from the last days of the Spanish Arabian empire, the larger part of them was probably posterior, but, as they were printed in collections at the beginning of the sixteenth century, could not have been long posterior, to the capture of Granada. How far they may be referred to the conquered Moors, is uncertain. Many of these wrote and spoke the Castilian with elegance, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that they should seek some solace under present evils in the splendid visions of the past. The bulk of this

poetry, however, was in all probability the creation of the Spaniards themselves, naturally attracted by the picturesque circumstances in the character and condition of the conquered nation to invest them with poetic interest.

The Moorish *romances* fortunately appeared after the introduction of printing into the Peninsula, so that they were secured a permanent existence, instead of perishing with the breath that made them, like so many of their predecessors. This misfortune, which attaches to so much of popular poetry in all nations, is not imputable to any insensibility in the Spaniards to the excellence of their own. Men of more erudition than taste may have held them light, in comparison with more ostentatious and learned productions. This fate has befallen them in other countries than Spain.[15]

[15] This may be still further inferred from the tenor of a humorous, satirical old *romance,* in which the writer implores the justice of Apollo on the heads of the swarm of traitor poets who have deserted the ancient themes of song, the Cids, the Laras, the Gonzalez, to celebrate the Ganzuls and Abderrahmans and the fantastical fables of the Moors:

"Tanta Zayda y Adalifa,
tanta Draguta y Daraxa
tanto Azarque y tanto Adulce,
tanto Gazul, y Abenamar,
tanto alquizer y marlota,
tanto almayzar, y almalafa,
tantas emprisas y plumas.
tantas cifras y medallas,
tanta roperia Mora.
Y en vanderillas y adargas,
tanto mote, y tantas motas
muera yo sino me cansan.
* * * * *
Los Alfonsos, los Henricos,
los Sanchos, y los de Lara,
que es dellos, y que es del Cid
tanto olvido en glorias tantas?
ninguna pluma las buela,
ninguna Musa las canta?
Justicia, Apollo, justicia,
vengadores rayos lança
contra Poetas Moriscos."

But persons of finer poetic feeling and more enlarged spirit of criticism have estimated them as a most essential and characteristic portion of Castilian literature. Such was the judgment of the great Lope de Vega, who, after expatiating on the extraordinary compass and sweetness of the *romance,* and its adaptation to the highest subjects, commends it as worthy of all estimation for its peculiar national character.[16] The modern Spanish writers have adopted a similar tone of criticism, insisting on its study as essential to a correct appreciation and comprehension of the genius of the language.[17]

The Castilian ballads were first printed in the "Cancionero general" of Fernando del Castillo, in 1511. They were first incorporated into a separate work, by Sepulveda, under the name of "Romances sacados de Historias antiguas," printed at

Dr. Johnson's opinions are well known in regard to this department of English literature, which, by his ridiculous parodies, he succeeded for a time in throwing into the shade, or, in the language of his admiring biographer, made "perfectly contemptible." Petrarch, with like pedantry, rested his hopes of fame on his Latin epic, and gave away his lyrics as alms to ballad-singers. Posterity, deciding on surer principles of taste, has reversed both these decisions.

[16] "Algunos quieren que sean la cartilla de los Poetas; yo no lo siento assi; antes bien los hallo capaces, no solo de exprimir y declarar qualquier concepto con facil dulzura, pero de prosequir toda grave accion de numeroso Poema. Y soy tan de veras Español, que por ser en nuestro idioma natural este genero, no me puedo persuadir que no sea digno de toda estimacion." (Coleccion de Obras sueltas (Madrid, 1776–9), tom. iv. p. 176, Prólogo.) In another place, he finely styles them "Iliads without a Homer."

[17] See, among others, the encomiastic and animated criticism of Fernandez and Quintana. Fernandez, Poesías escogidas de nuestros Cancioneros y Romanceros antiguos (Madrid, 1796), tom. xvi., Prólogo.—Quintana, Poesías selectas Castellanas, Introd., art. 4.

Antwerp, in 1551.[18] Since that period, they have passed into repeated editions, at home and abroad, especially in Germany, where they have been illustrated by able critics.[19] Ignorance of their authors and of the era of their production has prevented any attempt at exact chronological arrangement; a circumstance rendered, moreover, nearly impossible by the perpetual modification which the original style of the more ancient ballads has experienced in their transition through successive generations; so that, with one or two exceptions, no earlier date should probably be assigned to the oldest of them, in their present form, than the fifteenth century.[20] Another system of classification has been adopted, of distributing them according to their subjects; and independent collections also of the separate departments, as ballads of the Cid, of the Twelve Peers, the Mo-

[18] Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. ii. p. 10.—The Spanish translators of Bouterwek have noticed the principal "collections and earliest editions" of the *Romances*. This original edition of Sepulveda has escaped their notice. See Literatura Española, pp. 217, 218.

[19] See Grimm, Depping, Herder, etc. This last poet has given a selection of the Cid ballads, chronologically arranged, and translated with eminent simplicity and spirit, if not with the scrupulous fidelity usually aimed at by the Germans. See his Sämmtliche Werke (Wien, 1813), Band iii.

[20] Sarmiento, Memorias, pp. 242, 243.—Moratin considers that none have come down to us, in their original costume, of an earlier date than John II.'s reign, the first half of the fifteenth century. (Obras, tom. i. p. 84.) The Spanish translators of Bouterwek transcribe a *romance*, relating to the Cid, from the fathers Berganza and Merino, purporting to exhibit the primitive, uncorrupted diction of the thirteenth century. Native critics are of course the only ones competent to questions of this sort; but to the less experienced eye of a foreigner the style of this ballad would seem to resemble much less that genuine specimen of the versification of the preceding age, the poem of the Cid, than the compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

risco ballads, and the like, have been repeatedly published, both at home and abroad.[21]

The higher and educated classes of the nation were not insensible to the poetic spirit which drew forth such excellent minstrelsy from the body of the people. Indeed, Castilian poetry bore the same patrician stamp through the whole of the present reign which had been impressed on it in its infancy. Fortunately, the new art of printing was employed here, as in the case of the *romances,* to arrest those fugitive sallies of imagination which in other countries were permitted, from want of this care, to pass into oblivion; and *cancioneros,* or collections of lyrics, were published, embodying the productions of this reign and that of John the Second, thus bringing under one view the poetic culture of the fifteenth century.

The earliest cancionero printed was at Saragossa, in 1492. It comprehended the works of

[21] The principle of philosophical arrangement, if it may be so called, is pursued still further in the latest Spanish publications of the *romances,* where the Moorish minstrelsy is embodied in a separate volume and distributed with reference to its topics. This system is the more practicable with this class of ballads, since it far exceeds in number any other. See Duran, Romancero de Romances Moriscos. The Romancero I have used is the ancient edition of Medina del Campo, 1602. It is divided into nine parts, though it is not easy to see on what principle, since productions differing widely in date and tenor are brought into juxtaposition. The collection contains nearly a thousand ballads, which, however, fall far short of the entire number preserved, as may easily be seen by reference to other compilations. When to this is added the consideration of the large number which insensibly glided into oblivion without ever coming to the press, one may form a notion of the immense mass of these humble lyrics which floated among the common people of Spain; and we shall be the less disposed to wonder at the proud and chivalrous bearing that marks even the peasantry of a nation which seems to breathe the very air of romantic song.

Mena, Manrique, and six or seven other bards of less note.[22] A far more copious collection was made by Fernando del Castillo, and first published at Valencia, in 1511, under the title of "Cancionero general," since which period it has passed into repeated editions. This compilation is certainly more creditable to Castillo's industry than to his discrimination or power of arrangement. Indeed, in this latter respect it is so defective that it would almost seem to have been put together fortuitously, as the pieces came to hand. A large portion of the authors appear to have been persons of rank; a circumstance to which perhaps they were indebted, more than to any poetic merit, for a place in the miscellany, which might have been decidedly increased in value by being diminished in bulk.[23]

The *works of devotion* with which the collection

[22] The title of this work was "Coplas de Vita Christi, de la Cena con la Pasion, y de la Veronica con la Resurreccion de nuestro Redemtor. E las siete Angustias e siete Gozos de nuestra Señora, con otras obras mucho provechosas." It concludes with the following notice: "Fue la presente obra emprentada en la insigne Ciudad de Zaragoza de Aragon por industria e expensas de Paulo Hurus de Constancia aleman. A 27 dias de Noviembre, 1492." (Mendez, Typographia Española, pp. 134, 136.) It appears there were two or three other cancioneros compiled, none of which, however, were admitted to the honors of the press. (Bouterwek, Literatura Española, nota.) The learned Castro, some fifty years since, published an analysis with copious extracts from one of these, made by Baena, the Jewish physician of John II., a copy of which existed in the royal library of the Escurial. Bibliotheca Española, tom. i. p. 265 et seq.

[23] Cancionero general passim.—Moratin has given a list of the men of rank who contributed to this miscellany; it contains the names of the highest nobility of Spain. (Orig. del Teatro Español, Obras, tom. i. pp. 85, 86.) Castillo's Cancionero passed through several editions, the latest of which appeared in 1573. See a catalogue, not entirely complete, of the different Spanish Cancioneros in Bouterwek, Literatura Española, trad., p. 217.

opens are on the whole the feeblest portion of it. We discern none of the inspiration and lyric glow which were to have been anticipated from the devout, enthusiastic Spaniard. We meet with anagrams on the Virgin, glosses on the creed and pater noster, *canciones* on original sin and the like unpromising topics, all discussed in the most bald, prosaic manner, with abundance of Latin phrase, scriptural allusion, and commonplace precept, unenlivened by a single spark of true poetic fire, and presenting altogether a farrago of the most fantastic pedantry.

The lighter, especially the amatory poems, are much more successfully executed, and the primitive forms of the old Castilian versification are developed with considerable variety and beauty. Among the most agreeable effusions in this way may be noticed those of Diego Lopez de Haro, who, to borrow the encomium of a contemporary, was "the mirror of gallantry for the young cavaliers of the time." There are few verses in the collection composed with more facility and grace.[24] Among the more elaborate pieces, Diego de San Pedro's "Desprecio de la Fortuna" may be distinguished, not so much for any poetic talent which it exhibits, as for its mercurial and somewhat sarcastic tone of sentiment.[25] The similarity of subject may suggest a parallel between it and

[24] Cancionero general, pp. 83–89.—Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

[25] Cancionero general, pp. 158–161.—Some meagre information respecting this person is given by Nic. Antonio, whose biographical notices may be often charged with deficiency in chronological data; a circumstance perhaps unavoidable from the obscurity of their subjects. Bibliotheca Vetus, tom. ii. lib. 10, cap. 5.

the Italian poet Guidi's celebrated ode on Fortune; and the different styles of execution may perhaps be taken as indicating pretty fairly the distinctive peculiarities of the Tuscan and the old Spanish school of poetry. The Italian, introducing the fickle goddess in person on the scene, describes her triumphant march over the ruins of empires and dynasties, from the earliest time, in a flow of lofty dithyrambic eloquence, adorned with all the brilliant coloring of a stimulated fancy and a highly finished language. The Castilian, on the other hand, instead of this splendid personification, deepens his verse into a moral tone, and, dwelling on the vicissitudes and vanities of human life, points his reflections with some caustic warning, often conveyed with enchanting simplicity, but without the least approach to lyric exaltation, or indeed the affectation of it.

This proneness to moralize the song is in truth a characteristic of the old Spanish bard. He rarely abandons himself without reserve to the frolic puerilities so common with the sister Muse of Italy,

> "Scritta così come la penna getta,
> Per fuggir l' ozio, e non per cercar gloria."

It is true, he is occasionally betrayed by verbal subtilities and other affectations of the age,[26] but

[26] There are probably more direct puns in Petrarch's lyrics alone than in all the Cancionero general.—There is another kind of *niaiserie*, however, to which the Spanish poets were much addicted, being the transposition of the word in every variety of sense and combination; as, for example,

> "Acordad vuestros olvidos
> Y olvida vuestros acuerdos
> Porque tales desacuerdos
> Acuerden vuestros sentidos," etc.
>
> Cancionero general, fol. 220.

even his liveliest sallies are apt to be seasoned with a moral or sharpened by a satiric sentiment. His defects, indeed, are of the kind most opposed to those of the Italian poet, showing themselves, especially in the more elaborate pieces, in a certain tumid stateliness and overstrained energy of diction.

On the whole, one cannot survey the "Cancionero general" without some disappointment at the little progress of the poetic art since the reign of John the Second, at the beginning of the century. The best pieces in the collection are of that date, and no rival subsequently arose to compete with the masculine strength of Mena or the delicacy and fascinating graces of Santillana. One cause of this tardy progress may have been the direction to utility manifested in this active reign, which led such as had leisure for intellectual pursuits to cultivate science, rather than abandon themselves to the mere revels of the imagination.

Another cause may be found in the rudeness of the language, whose delicate finish is so essential to the purposes of the poet, but which was so imperfect at this period that Juan de la Encina, a popular writer of the time, complained that he was obliged, in his version of Virgil's Eclogues, to coin, as it were, a new vocabulary, from the want of terms corresponding with the original in the old one.[27] It was not until the close of the

It was such subtilties as these, *entricades razones,* as Cervantes calls them, that addled the brains of poor Don Quixote. Tom. i. cap. 1.

[27] Velazquez, Poesía Castellana, p. 122.—More than half a century later, the learned Ambrosio Morales complained of the barrenness of

present reign, when the nation began to breathe awhile from its tumultuous career, that the fruits of the patient cultivation which it had been steadily though silently experiencing began to manifest themselves in the improved condition of the language and its adaptation to the highest poetical uses. The intercourse with Italy, moreover, by naturalizing new and more finished forms of versification, afforded a scope for the nobler efforts of the poet, to which the old Castilian measures, however well suited to the wild and artless movements of the popular minstrelsy, were altogether inadequate.

We must not dismiss the miscellaneous poetry of this period without some notice of the "Coplas" of Don Jorge Manrique,[28] on the death of his father, the count of Parades, in 1474.[29] The elegy is of considerable length, and is sustained throughout in a tone of the highest moral dignity; while the poet leads us up from the transitory objects of the lower world to the contemplation of that imperishable existence which Christianity has opened beyond the grave. A tenderness pervades the piece, which may remind us of the best manner of Petrarch; while, with the

the Castilian, which he imputed to the too exclusive adoption of the Latin upon all subjects of dignity and importance. Obras, tom. xiv. pp. 147, 148.

[28] L. Marineo, speaking of this accomplished nobleman, styles him "virum satis illustrem. Eum enim poetam et philosophum natura formavit ac peperit." He unfortunately fell in a skirmish, five years after his father's death, in 1479. Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 531.

[29] An elaborate character of this Quixotic old cavalier may be found in Pulgar, Claros Varones, tit. 13.

exception of a slight taint of pedantry, it is exempt from the meretricious vices that belong to the poetry of the age. The effect of the sentiment is heightened by the simple turns and broken melody of the old Castilian verse, of which perhaps this may be accounted the most finished specimen; such would seem to be the judgment of his own countrymen,[30] whose glosses and commentaries on it have swelled into a separate volume.[31]

I shall close this survey with a brief notice of the drama, whose foundations may be said to have been laid during this reign. The sacred plays, or mysteries, so popular throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, may be traced in Spain to an ancient date. Their familiar performance in the churches, by the clergy, is recognized in the middle of the thirteenth century, by a law of Alfonso the Tenth, which, while it interdicted certain profane mummeries that had come into vogue, prescribed the legitimate topics for exhibition.[32]

[30] "Don Jorge Manrique," says Lope de Vega, "cuyas coplas Castellanas admiren los ingenios estrangeros y merecen estar escritas con letras de oro." Obras sueltas, tom. xii., Prólogo.

[31] Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, ed. Madrid, 1779.—Diálogo de las Lenguas, apud Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes, tom. ii. p. 149.—Manrique's Coplas have also been the subject of a separate publication in the United States. Professor Longfellow's version, accompanying it, is well calculated to give the English reader a correct notion of the Castilian bard, and, of course, a very exaggerated one of the literary culture of the age.

[32] After proscribing certain profane mummeries, the law confines the clergy to the representation of such subjects as "the birth of our Saviour, in which is shown how the angels appeared, announcing his nativity; also his advent, and the coming of the three Magi kings to worship him; and his resurrection, showing his crucifixion and ascension on the third day; and other such things leading men to do well and live constant in the faith." (Siete Partidas, tit. 6, ley 34.) It is worth noting, that similar abuses continued common among the eccle-

The transition from these rude spectacles to more regular dramatic efforts was very slow and gradual. In 1414, an allegorical comedy, composed by the celebrated Henry, marquis of Villena, was performed at Saragossa, in the presence of the court.[33] In 1469, a dramatic eclogue, by an anonymous author, was exhibited in the palace of the count of Ureña, in the presence of Ferdinand, on his coming into Castile to espouse the infanta Isabella.[34] These pieces may be regarded as the earliest theatrical attempts, after the religious dramas and popular pantomimes already noticed; but unfortunately they have not come down to us. The next production deserving

siastics down to Isabella's reign, as may be inferred from a decree, very similar to the law of the Partidas above cited, published by the council of Aranda in 1473. (Apud Moratin, Obras, tom. i. p. 87.) Moratin considers it certain that the representation of the mysteries existed in Spain as far back as the eleventh century. The principal grounds for this conjecture appear to be the fact that such notorious abuses had crept into practice by the middle of the thirteenth century as to require the intervention of the law. (Ibid., pp. 11, 13.) The circumstance would seem compatible with a much more recent origin.

[33] Cervantes, Comedias y Entremeses (Madrid, 1749), tom. i., prólogo de Nasarre.—Velazquez, Poesía Castellana, p. 86.—The fifth volume of the Memoirs of the Spanish Royal Academy of History contains a dissertation on the "national diversions," by Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, replete with curious erudition, and exhibiting the discriminating taste to have been expected from its accomplished author. Among these antiquarian researches the writer has included a brief view of the first theatrical attempts in Spain. See Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. v. Mem. 6.

[34] Moratin, Obras, tom. i. p. 115.—Nasarre (Cervantes, Comedias, pról.), Jovellanos (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. v. Memor. 6), Pellicer (Orígen y Progreso de la Comedia (1804), tom. i. p. 12), and others, refer the authorship of this little piece, without hesitation, to Juan de la Encina, although the year of its representation corresponds precisely with that of his birth. The prevalence of so gross a blunder among the Spanish scholars shows how little the antiquities of their theatre were studied before the time of Moratin.

attention is a "Dialogue between Love and an Old Man," imputed to Rodrigo Cota, a poet of whose history nothing seems to be known, and little conjectured, but that he flourished during the reigns of John the Second and Henry the Fourth. The dialogue is written with much vivacity and grace, and with as much dramatic movement as is compatible with only two interlocutors.[35]

A much more memorable production is referred to the same author, the tragicomedy of "Celestina," or "Calisto and Melibea," as it is frequently called. The first act, indeed, constituting nearly one-third of the piece, is all that is ascribed to Cota. The remaining twenty acts, which, however, should rather be denominated scenes, were written by another hand, some—though, to judge from the internal evidence afforded by the style, not many—years later. The second author was Fernando de Roxas, bachelor of law, as he informs us, who composed this work, as a sort of intellectual relaxation, during one of his vacations.

[35] This little piece has been published at length by Moratin, in the first volume of his works. (See Orígenes del Teatro Español, Obras, tom. i. pp. 303–314.) The celebrated marquis of Santillana's poetical dialogue, "Comedieta da Ponza," has no pretensions to rank as a dramatic composition, notwithstanding its title, which is indeed as little significant of its real character as the term "Commedia" is of Dante's epic. It is a discourse on the vicissitudes of human life, suggested by a sea-fight near Ponza in 1435. It is conducted without any attempt at dramatic action or character, or, indeed, dramatic development of any sort. The same remarks may be made of the political satire "Mingo Revulgo," which appeared in Henry IV.'s reign. Dialogue was selected by these authors as a more popular and spirited medium than direct narrative for conveying their sentiments. The "Comedieta da Ponza" has never appeared in print; the copy which I have used is a transcript from the one in the Royal Library at Madrid, and belongs to Mr. George Ticknor.

The time was certainly not misspent. The continuation, however, is not esteemed by the Castilian critics as having risen quite to the level of the original act.[36]

The story turns on a love-intrigue. A Spanish youth of rank is enamored of a lady, whose affections he gains with some difficulty, but whom he finally seduces, through the arts of an accomplished courtesan, whom the author has introduced under the romantic name of Celestina. The piece, although comic, or rather sentimental, in its progress, terminates in the most tragical catastrophe, in which all the principal actors are involved. The general texture of the plot is exceedingly clumsy, yet it affords many situations of deep and varied interest in its progress. The principal characters

[36] Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea (Alcalá, 1586), Introd.—Nothing is positively ascertained respecting the authorship of the first act of the Celestina. Some impute it to Juan de Mena; others with more probability to Rodrigo Cota el Tio, of Toledo, a person who, although literally nothing is known of him, has in some way or other obtained the credit of the authorship of some of the most popular effusions of the fifteenth century; such, for example, as the Dialogue above cited of "Love and an Old Man," the Coplas of "Mingo Revulgo," and this first act of the "Celestina." The principal foundation of these imputations would appear to be the bare assertion of an editor of the "Dialogue between Love and an Old Man," which appeared at Medina del Campo in 1569, nearly a century, probably, after Cota's death; another example of the obscurity which involves the history of the early Spanish drama. Many of the Castilian critics detect a flavor of antiquity in the first act which should carry back its composition as far as John II.'s reign. Moratin does not discern this, however, and is inclined to refer its production to a date not much if at all more distant than Isabella's time. To the unpractised eye of a foreigner, as far as style is concerned, the whole work might well seem the production of the same period. Moratin, Obras, tom. i. pp. 88, 115, 116.—Diálogo de las Lenguas, apud Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes, pp. 165–167.—Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. ii. p. 263.

are delineated in the piece with considerable skill. The part of Celestina, in particular, in which a veil of plausible hypocrisy is thrown over the deepest profligacy of conduct, is managed with much address. The subordinate parts are brought into brisk comic action, with natural dialogue, though somewhat obscene; and an interest of a graver complexion is raised by the passion of the lovers, the timid, confiding tenderness of the lady, and the sorrows of the broken-hearted parent. The execution of the play reminds us, on the whole, less of the Spanish than of the old English theatre, in many of its defects as well as beauties; in the contrasted strength and imbecility of various passages; in its intermixture of broad farce and deep tragedy; in the unseasonable introduction of frigid metaphor and pedantic allusion in the midst of the most passionate discourses; in the unveiled voluptuousness of its coloring, occasionally too gross for any public exhibition; but, above all, in the general strength and fidelity of its portraiture.

The tragicomedy, as it is styled, of Celestina, was obviously never intended for representation, to which not merely the grossness of some of the details, but the length and arrangement of the piece, rendered it unsuitable. But, notwithstanding this, and its approximation to the character of a romance, it must be admitted to contain within itself the essential elements of dramatic composition; and, as such, it is extolled by the Spanish critics, as opening the theatrical career of Europe. A similar claim has been maintained for produc-

tions nearly contemporaneous in other countries, and especially for Politian's "Orfeo," which there is little doubt was publicly acted before 1483. Notwithstanding its representation, however, the "Orfeo," presenting a combination of the eclogue and the ode, without any proper theatrical movement, or attempt at development of character, cannot fairly come within the limits of dramatic writing. A more ancient example than either, at least as far as the exterior forms are concerned, may be probably found in the celebrated French farce of Pierre Pathelin, printed as early as 1474, having been repeatedly played during the preceding century, which, with the requisite modifications, still keeps possession of the stage. The pretensions of this piece, however, as a work of art, are comparatively humble; and it seems fair to admit that in the higher and more important elements of dramatic composition, and especially in the delicate and at the same time powerful delineation of character and passion, the Spanish critics may be justified in regarding the "Celestina" as having led the way in modern Europe.[37]

[37] Such is the high encomium of the Abate Andres (Letteratura, tom. v. part. 2, lib. 1.)—Cervantes does not hesitate to call it "libro divino;" and the acute author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas" concludes a criticism upon it with the remark that "there is no book in the Castilian which surpasses it in the propriety and elegance of its diction." (Don Quixote, ed. de Pellicer, tom. i. p. 239.—Mayans y Siscar, tom. ii. p. 167.)—Its merits indeed seem in some degree to have disarmed even the severity of foreign critics; and Signorelli, after standing up stoutly in defence of the precedence of the "Orfeo" as a dramatic composition, admits the "Celestina" to be a "work rich in various beauties, and meriting undoubted applause. In fact," he continues, "the vivacity of the description of character, and faithful portraiture of manners, have made it immortal." Storia critica de' Teatri antichi e moderni (Napoli, 1813), tom. vi. pp. 146, 147.

Without deciding on its proper classification as a work of art, however, its real merits are settled by its wide popularity both at home and abroad. It has been translated into most of the European languages, and the preface to the last edition published in Madrid, so recently as 1822, enumerates thirty editions of it in Spain alone in the course of the sixteenth century. Impressions were multiplied in Italy, at the very time when it was interdicted at home on the score of its immoral tendency. A popularity thus extending through distant ages and nations shows how faithfully it is built on the principles of human nature.[38]

The drama assumed the pastoral form, in its early stages, in Spain, as in Italy. The oldest specimens in this way which have come down to us are the productions of Juan de la Encina, a contemporary of Roxas. He was born in 1469, and, after completing his education at Salamanca, was received into the family of the duke of Alva. He continued there several years, employed in the composition of various poetical works, among others, a version of Virgil's Eclogues, which he so altered as to accommodate them to the principal events in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He visited Italy in the beginning of the following century, and was attracted by the munificent patronage of Leo the Tenth to fix his residence at the papal court. While there, he continued his literary labors. He embraced the ecclesiastical

[38] Bouterwek, Literatura Española, notas de traductores, p. 234.—Andres, Letteratura, tom. v. pp. 170, 171.—Lampillas, Letteratura Spagnuola, tom. vi. pp. 57–59.

profession; and his skill in music recommended him to the office of principal director of the pontifical chapel. He was subsequently presented with the priory of Leon, and returned to Spain, where he died in 1534.[39]

Encina's works first appeared at Salamanca, in 1496, collected into one volume folio.[40] Besides other poetry, they comprehended a number of dramatic eclogues, sacred and profane: the former suggested by topics drawn from Scripture, like the ancient mysteries; the latter chiefly amatory. They were performed in the palace of his patron, the duke of Alva, in the presence of Prince John, the duke of Infantado, and other eminent persons of the court; and the poet himself occasionally assisted in the representation.[41]

[39] Rojas, Viage entretenido (1614), fol. 46.—Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. p. 684.—Moratin, Obras, tom. i. pp. 126, 127.—Pellicer, Orígen de la Comedia, tom. i. pp. 11, 12.

[40] They were published under the title "Cancionero de todas las Obras de Juan de la Encina con otras añadidas." (Mendez, Typographia Española, p. 247.) Subsequent impressions of his works, more or less complete, appeared at Salamanca in 1509, and at Saragossa in 1512 and 1516.—Moratin, Obras, tom. i. p. 127, nota.

[41] The comedian Rojas, who flourished in the beginning of the following century, and whose "Viage entretenido" is so essential to the knowledge of the early histrionic art in Spain, identifies the appearance of Encina's Eclogues with the dawn of the Castilian drama. His verses may be worth quoting:

"Que es en neustra madre España
porque en la dichosa era,
que aquellos gloriosos Reyes
dignos de memoria eterna
Don Fernando e Ysabel
(que ya con los santos reynan)
de echar de España acabavan
todos los Moriscos, que eran
De aquel Reyno de Granada,
y entonces se dava en ella
principio a la Inquisicion,
se le dio a nuestra comedia.

Encina's eclogues are simple compositions, with little pretence to dramatic artifice. The story is too meagre to admit of much ingenuity or contrivance or to excite any depth of interest. There are few interlocutors, seldom more than three or four, although on one occasion rising to as many as seven; of course there is little scope for theatrical action. The characters are of the humble class belonging to pastoral life, and the dialogue, which is extremely appropriate, is conducted with facility; but the rustic condition of the speakers precludes anything like literary elegance or finish, in which respect they are doubtless surpassed by some of his more ambitious compositions. There is a comic air imparted to them, however, and a lively colloquial turn, which renders them very agreeable. Still, whatever be their merits as pastorals, they are entitled to little consideration as specimens of dramatic art, and in the vital spirit of dramatic composition must be regarded as far inferior to the "Celestina." The simplicity of

Juan de la Encina el primero,
aquel insigne poeta,
que tanto bien empezo
de quien tenemos tres eglogas
Que el mismo represento
al Almirante y Duquessa
de Castilla, y de Infantado
que estas fueron las primeras
Y para mas honra suya,
y de la comedia nuestra,
en los dias que Colon
descubrio la gran riqueza
De Indias y nuevo mundo,
y el gran Capitan empieza
a sugetar aquel Reyno
de Napoles, y su tierra,
A descubrirse empezo
el uso de la comedia
porque todos se animassen
a emprender cosas tan buenas."
fol. 46, 47.

these productions, and the facility of their exhibition, which required little theatrical decoration or costume, recommended them to popular imitation, which continued long after the regular forms of the drama were introduced into Spain.[42]

The credit of this introduction belongs to Bartolomé Torres de Naharro, often confounded by the Castilian writers themselves with a player of the same name who flourished half a century later.[43] Few particulars have been ascertained of his personal history. He was born at Torre, in the province of Estremadura. In the early part of his life he fell into the hands of the Algerines, and was finally released from captivity by the exertions of certain benevolent Italians, who generously paid his ransom. He then established his residence in Italy, at the court of Leo the Tenth. Under the genial influence of that patronage which quickened so many of the seeds of genius to production in every department, he composed his "Propaladia," a work embracing a variety of lyrical and dramatic poetry, first published

[42] Signorelli, correcting what he denominates the "romance" of Lampillas, considers Encina to have composed only one pastoral drama, and that on occasion of Ferdinand's entrance into Castile. The critic should have been more charitable, as he has made two blunders himself in correcting one. Storia critica de' Teatri, tom. iv. pp. 192, 193.

[43] Andres, confounding Torres de Naharro the poet with Naharro the comedian, who flourished about half a century later, is led into a ludicrous train of errors in controverting Cervantes, whose criticism on the actor is perpetually misapplied by Andres to the poet. Velazquez seems to have confounded them in like manner: another evidence of the extremely superficial acquaintance of the Spanish critics with their early drama. Comp. Cervantes, Comedias y Entremeses, tom. i., prólogo.—Andres, Letteratura, tom. v. p. 179.—Velazquez, Poesía Castellana, p. 88.

at Rome, in 1517. Unfortunately, the caustic satire levelled in some of the higher pieces of this collection at the license of the pontifical court brought such obloquy on the head of the author as compelled him to take refuge in Naples, where he remained under the protection of the noble family of Colonna. No further particulars are recorded of him, except that he embraced the ecclesiastical profession; and the time and place of his death are alike uncertain. In person he is said to have been comely, with an amiable disposition and sedate and dignified demeanor.[44]

His "Propaladia," first published at Rome, passed through several editions subsequently in Spain, where it was alternately prohibited or permitted, according to the caprice of the Holy Office. It contains, among other things, eight comedies, written in the native *redondillas*, which continue to be regarded as the suitable measure for the drama. They afford the earliest example of the division into *jornadas*, or days, and of the *intróito*, or prologue, in which the author, after propitiating the audience by suitable compliment, and witticisms not over-delicate, gives a view of the length and general scope of his play.[45]

[44] Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. p. 202.—Cervantes, Comedias, tom. i., pról. de Nasarre.—Pellicer, Orígen de la Comedia, tom. ii. p. 17.—Moratin, Obras, tom. i. p. 48.

[45] Bartolomé Torres de Naharro, Propaladia (Madrid, 1573).—The deficiency of the earlier Spanish books, of which Bouterwek repeatedly complains, has led him into an error respecting the "Propaladia," which he had never seen. He states that Naharro was the first to distribute the play into three jornadas or acts, and takes Cervantes roundly to task for assuming the original merit of this distribution to himself. In fact, Naharro did introduce the division into *five* jornadas, and Cervantes assumes only the credit of having been the

The scenes of Naharro's comedies, with a single exception, are laid in Spain and Italy; those in the latter country probably being selected with reference to the audiences before whom they were acted. The diction is easy and correct, without much affectation of refinement or rhetorical ornament. The dialogue, especially in the lower parts, is sustained with much comic vivacity; indeed, Naharro seems to have had a nicer perception of character as it is found in lower life than as it exists in the higher; and more than one of his plays are devoted exclusively to its illustration. On some occasions, however, the author assumes a more elevated tone, and his verse rises to a degree of poetic beauty, deepened by the moral reflection so characteristic of the Spaniards. At other times, his pieces are disfigured by such a Babel-like confusion of tongues as makes it doubtful which may be the poet's vernacular. French, Spanish, Italian, with a variety of barbarous *patois* and mongrel Latin, are all brought into play at the same time, and all comprehended, apparently with equal facility, by each one of the *dramatis personæ*. But it is difficult to conceive how such a jargon could have been comprehended, far more relished, by an Italian audience.[46]

first to *reduce them to three*. Comp. Bouterwek, Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit, Band iii. S. 285,—and Cervantes, Comedias, tom. i., pról.

[46] In the argument to the "Seraphina," he thus prepares the audience for this colloquial *olla podrida:*

> "Mas haveis de estar alerta
> por sentir los personages
> que hablan quatro lenguages.
> hasta acabar su rehyerta

Naharro's comedies are not much to be commended for the intrigue, which generally excites but a languid interest and shows little power or adroitness in the contrivance. With every defect, however, they must be allowed to have given the first forms to Spanish comedy, and to exhibit many of the features which continued to be characteristic of it in a state of more perfect development under Lope de Vega and Calderon. Such, for instance, is the amorous jealousy, and especially the point of honor, so conspicuous on the Spanish theatre; and such, too, the moral confusion too often produced by blending the foulest crimes with zeal for religion.[47] These comedies,

no salen de cuenta cierta
por Latin e Italiano
Castellano y Valenciano
que ninguno desconcierta."
Propaladia, p. 50.

[47] The following is an example of the precious reasoning with which Floristan, in the play above quoted, reconciles his conscience to the murder of his wife Orfea in order to gratify the jealousy of his mistress Seraphina. Floristan is addressing himself to a priest:

"Y por mas daño escusar
no lo quiero hora hazer,
sino que es menester.
quo yo mate luego a Orfea
do Serafina lo vea
porque lo pueda creer.
Que yo bien me mataria
pues toda razon me inclina;
pero se de Serafina
que se desesperaria.
y Orfea, pucs que haria?
quando mi muerte supiesse:
que creo que no pudiesse
sostener la vida un dia.
Pues hablando aca entre nos
a Orfea cabe la suerte:
porque con su sola muerte
se escusaran otras dos:
de modo que padre vos
si llamar me la quereys,

moreover, far from blind conformity with the ancients, discovered much of the spirit of independence and deviated into many of the eccentricities which distinguish the national theatre in later times, and which the criticism of our own day has so successfully explained and defended on philosophical principles.

Naharro's plays were represented, as appears from his prologue, in Italy, probably not at Rome, which he quitted soon after their publication, but at Naples, which, then forming a part of the Spanish dominions, might more easily furnish an audience capable of comprehending them.[48] It is remarkable that, notwithstanding their repeated editions in Spain, they do not appear to have ever been performed there. The cause of this, probably, was the low state of the histrionic art, and the total deficiency in theatrical costume and decoration; yet it was not easy to dispense with these in the representation of pieces which brought more

a mi merced me hareys
y tambien servicio a Dios.
* * * *
porque si yo la matare
morira christianamente;
yo morire penitente,
quando mi suerte llegare."
Propaladia, fol. 68.

[48] Signorelli waxes exceedingly wroth with Don Blas Nasarre for the assertion that Naharro first taught the Italians to write comedy, taxing him with downright mendacity; and he stoutly denies the probability of Naharro's comedies ever having been performed on the Italian boards. The critic seems to be in the right, as far as regards the influence of the Spanish dramatist; but he might have been spared all doubts respecting their representation in the country, had he consulted the prologue of Naharro himself, where he asserts the fact in the most explicit manner. Comp. Propaladia, pról., and Signorelli, Storia critica de' Teatri, tom. vi. pp. 171–179.—See also Moratin, Orígenes, Obras, tom. i. pp. 149, 150.

than a score of persons occasionally, and these crowned heads, at the same time, upon the stage.[49]

Some conception may be afforded of the lamentable poverty of the theatrical equipment from the account given by Cervantes of its condition half a century later. "The whole wardrobe of a manager of the theatre at that time," says he, "was contained in a single sack, and amounted only to four dresses of white fur trimmed with gilt leather, four beards, four wigs, and four crooks, more or less. There were no trap-doors, movable clouds, or machinery of any kind. The stage itself consisted only of four or six planks, placed across as many benches, arranged in the form of a square, and elevated but four palms from the ground. The only decoration of the theatre was an old coverlet, drawn from side to side by cords, behind which the musicians sang some ancient *romance*, without the guitar." [50] In fact, no further apparatus was employed than that demanded for the exhibition of mysteries, or the pastoral dialogues which succeeded them. The Spaniards, notwithstanding their precocity, compared with most of the nations of Europe, in dramatic art, were unaccountably tardy in all its histrionic accompaniments. The public remained content with such poor mummeries as could be got up by strolling players and mountebanks. There was no fixed theatre in Madrid until the latter part of the sixteenth century; and that consisted of a

[49] Propaladia; see the comedies of "Trofea" and "Tinelaria."—Jovellanos, Memoria sobre las Diversiones públicas, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. v.

[50] Cervantes, Comedias, tom. i., pról.

courtyard, with only a roof to shelter it, while the spectators sat on benches ranged around, or at the windows of the surrounding houses.[51] *

A similar impulse with that experienced by comic writing was given to tragedy. The first that entered on this department were professed scholars, who adopted the error of the Italian dramatists, in fashioning their pieces servilely after the antique, instead of seizing the expression of their own age. The most conspicuous attempts in this way were made by Fernan Perez de Oliva.[52] He was born at Cordova, in 1494, and, after many years passed in the various schools of Spain, France, and Italy, returned to his native land, and became a lecturer in the university of Salamanca. He instructed in moral philosophy and mathematics, and established the highest reputation for his critical acquaintance with the ancient lan-

[51] Pellicer, Orígen de la Comedia, tom. ii. pp. 58–62.—See also American Quarterly Review, no. viii. art. 3.

[52] Oliva, Obras (Madrid, 1787).—Vasco Diaz Tanco, a native of Estremadura, who flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, mentions in one of his works three tragedies composed by himself on Scripture subjects. As there is no evidence, however, of their having been printed, or performed, or even read in manuscript by any one, they hardly deserve to be included in the catalogue of dramatic compositions. (Moratin, Obras, tom. i. pp. 150, 151.—Lampillas, Letteratura Spagnuola, tom. v. dis. 1, sec. 5.) This patriotic *littérateur* endeavors to establish the production of Oliva's tragedies in the year 1515, in the hope of antedating that of Trissino's "Sophonisba," composed a year later, and thus securing to his nation the palm of precedence, in time at least, though it should be only for a few months, on the tragic theatre of modern Europe. Letteratura Spagnuola, ubi supra.

* [A similar condition of affairs prevailed in England. It was not until 1576 that "the Earl of Leicester's servants" erected the first public theatre in Blackfriars.—M.]

guages and his own. He died young, at the age of thirty-nine, deeply lamented for his moral no less than for his intellectual worth.[53]

His various works were published by the learned Morales, his nephew, some fifty years after his death. Among them are translations in prose of the Electra of Sophocles, and the Hecuba of Euripides. They may with more propriety be termed imitations, and those too of the freest kind. Although they conform, in the general arrangement and progress of the story, to their originals, yet characters, nay, whole scenes and dialogues, are occasionally omitted; and in those retained it is not always easy to recognize the hand of the Grecian artist, whose modest beauties are thrown into shade by the ambitious ones of his imitator.[54] But, with all this, Oliva's tragedies must be admitted to be executed, on the whole, with vigor; and the diction, notwithstanding the national tendency to exaggeration above alluded to, may be generally commended for decorum, and an imposing dignity quite worthy of the tragic drama; indeed, they may be selected as affording probably the best specimen of the progress of prose composition during the present reign.[55]

[53] Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, tom. i. p 386.—Oliva, Obras, pref. de Morales.

[54] The following passage, for example, in the "Vengaza de Agamemnon," imitated from the Electra of Sophocles, will hardly be charged on the Greek dramatist: "Habed, yo os ruego, de mi compassion, no querais atapar con vuestros consejos los respiraderos de las hornazas de fuego, que dentro me atormentan." See Oliva, Obras, p. 185.

[55] Compare the diction of these tragedies with that of the "Centon epistolario," for instance, esteemed one of the best literary composi-

Oliva's reputation led to a similar imitation of the antique. But the Spaniards were too national in all their tastes to sanction it. These classical compositions did not obtain possession of the stage, but were confined to the closet, serving only as a relaxation for the man of letters; while the voice of the people compelled all who courted it to accommodate their inventions to those romantic forms which were subsequently developed in such variety of beauty by the great Spanish dramatists.[56]

We have now surveyed the different kinds of poetic culture familiar to Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella. Their most conspicuous element is the national spirit which pervades them, and the exclusive attachment which they manifest to the primitive forms of versification peculiar to the Peninsula. The most remarkable portion of this body of poetry may doubtless be considered the Spanish *romances,* or ballads; that popular minstrelsy which, commemorating the picturesque and chivalrous incidents of the age, reflects most faithfully the romantic genius of the people who gave

tions of John II.'s reign, and see the advance made, not only in orthography, but in the verbal arrangement generally, and the whole complexion of the style.

[56] Notwithstanding some Spanish critics, as Cueva, for example, have vindicated the romantic forms of the drama on scientific principles, it is apparent that the most successful writers in this department have been constrained to adopt them by public opinion, rather than their own, which would have suggested a nearer imitation of the classical models of antiquity, the practice so generally followed by the Italians, and one which naturally recommends itself to the scholar. See the canon's discourse in Cervantes, Don Quixote, ed. de Pellicer, tom. iii. pp. 207–220,—and, more explicitly, Lope de Vega, Obras sueltas, tom. iv. p. 406.

it utterance. The lyric efforts of the period were less successful. There were few elaborate attempts in this field, indeed, by men of decided genius. But the great obstacle may be found in the imperfection of the language and the deficiency of the more exact and finished metrical forms indispensable to high poetic execution.

The whole period, however, comprehending, as it does, the first decided approaches to a regular drama, may be regarded as very important in a literary aspect; since it exhibits the indigenous peculiarities of Castilian literature in all their freshness, and shows to what a degree of excellence it could attain, while untouched by any foreign influence. The present reign may be regarded as the epoch which divides the ancient from the modern school of Spanish poetry; in which the language was slowly but steadily undergoing the process of refinement, that "made the knowledge of it," to borrow the words of a contemporary critic, "pass for an elegant accomplishment, even with the cavaliers and dames of cultivated Italy;" [57] and which finally gave full scope to the poetic talent that raised the literature of the country to such brilliant heights in the sixteenth century.

[57] "Ya en Italia, assi entre Damas, como entre Caballeros, se tiene por gentileza y galania, saber hablar Castellano." Diálogo de las Lenguas, apud Mayans y Siscar, Orígines, tom. ii. p. 4.

I have had occasion to advert more than once in the course of this chapter to the superficial acquaintance of the Spanish critics with the early history of their own drama, authentic materials for which are so extemely rare and difficult of access as to preclude the expectation of anything like a satisfactory account of it out of the Peninsula.

The nearest approach to this within my knowledge is made in an article in the eighth number of the American Quarterly Review, ascribed to Mr. Ticknor, late Professor of Modern Literature in Harvard University. This gentleman, during a residence in the Peninsula, had every facility for replenishing his library with the most curious and valuable works, both printed and manuscript, in this department; and his essay embodies in a brief compass the results of a well-directed industry, which he has expanded in greater detail in his lectures on Spanish literature, delivered before the classes of the University. The subject is discussed with his usual elegance and perspicuity of style; and the foreign, and indeed Castilian, scholar may find much novel information there, in the views presented of the early progress of the dramatic and the histrionic art in the Peninsula.*

Since the publication of this article, Moratin's treatise, so long and anxiously expected, "Orígenes del Teatro Español," has made its appearance under the auspices of the Royal Academy of History, which has enriched the national literature with so many admirable editions of its ancient authors. Moratin states in his Preface that he was employed from his earliest youth in collecting notices, both at home and abroad, of whatever might illustrate the origin of the Spanish drama. The results have been two volumes, containing in the First Part an historical discussion, with ample explanatory notes, and a catalogue of dramatic pieces from the earliest epoch down to the time of Lope de Vega, chonologically arranged, and accompanied with critical analyses, and copious illustrative extracts from pieces of the greatest merit. The Second Part is devoted to the publication of entire pieces of various authors, which from their extreme rarity, or their existence only in manuscript, have had but little circulation. The selections throughout are made with that careful discrimination which resulted from poetic talent combined with extensive and thorough erudition. The criticisms, although sometimes warped by the peculiar dramatic principles of the author, are conducted in general with great fairness; and ample, but not extravagant, commendation is bestowed on productions whose merit, to be properly appreciated, must be weighed by one conversant with the character and intellectual culture of the period. The work, unfortunately, did not receive the last touches of its author, and undoubtedly something may be found wanting to the full completion of his design. On the whole, it must be considered as a rich repertory of old Castilian literature, much of it of the most rare and recondite nature, directed to the illustration of a department that has hitherto been suffered to languish in the lowest

* [Mr. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature was published not long after Prescott's note was written. It at once supplanted all the general histories which had preceded it. It holds to-day almost as distinguished a position among the works on Spanish literature as Prescott's works hold among those of the historical writers.—M.]

obscurity, but which is now so arranged that it may be contemplated, as it were, under one aspect, and its real merits accurately determined.

It was not till some time after the publication of this History that my attention was called to that portion of the writings of Don Martinez de la Rosa in which he criticises the various departments of the national literature. This criticism is embodied in the annotations and appendix to his elegant "Poetica" (Obras literarias (Paris, 1827), tom. i. ii.). The former discuss the general laws by which the various kinds of poetry are to be regulated; the latter presents a very searching and scientific analysis of the principal productions of the Spanish poets, down to the close of the last century. The critic exemplifies his own views by copious extracts from the subjects of his criticism, and throws much collateral light on the argument by illustrations borrowed from foreign literature. In the examination of the Spanish drama, especially comedy, which he modestly qualifies as a "succinct notice, not very exact," he is very elaborate, and discovers the same taste and sagacity in estimating the merits of individual writers which he had shown in discussing the general principles of the art. Had I read his work sooner, it would have greatly facilitated my own inquiries in the same obscure path; and I should have recognized at least one briliant exception to my sweeping remark on the apathy manifested by the Castilian scholars to the antiquities of the national drama.

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